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The Shape of Things

THROUGH NO WISH OF ITS OWN A HIGHLY confidential organization called "American Action, Inc.," has just emerged from the underground. Its avowed purpose is "to defend our country against its enemies at home," and it appears to be led by Colonel Robert R. McCormick and General Robert E. Wood, both of whom were conspicuously indifferent about defending our country against its enemies abroad. The Congressional committees on campaign expenditures are about to look into the affairs of the group, having in mind the Corrupt Practices Act, which calls for quarterly financial reports from all political committees operating in more than one state. We don't know just when this lineal descendant of the Liberty League and America First was launched, but one of its officials has stated in writing that its "growing list of supporters . . . literally covers every section of the country." That takes time—enough probably to have warranted several quarterly reports. But none have been filed. American Action, Inc., says it is not a secret organization, but it refuses to reveal the names of the 187 members of Congress whom it is pledged to fight in the current campaign. And that raises an interesting question concerning its purpose. It may be assumed that an agency sponsored by McCormick and reputedly supported by Joe Pew, E. T. Weir, and General Wood is not out to purge Congress of Republicans. There are 237 Democrats in that body, but roughly 50 of them are confirmed coalitionists who could only gladden the eye of a Liberty Leaguer. Could it be, then, that American Action, Inc., is merely an unofficial subsidiary of the G. O. P., charged with raising a secret slush fund to combat those "enemies at home" known as Northern Democrats?

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NOT BEING PROFESSIONAL WHISTLERS IN THE dark, we do not pretend to find much comfort in the progress of the current election campaign. Our correspondents in various parts of the country report that Republican gains in Congress are virtually assured; *Newsweek*'s poll of Washington correspondents shows a great majority convinced that the G. O. P. will capture the House; and a nation-wide Gallup poll reflects the same sentiment by the disconcerting margin of 63 per cent to 37. Nevertheless, we do not believe the time has come to head for the nearest wailing wall. Registration is surprisingly high, which is certainly a condition for Democratic victory, even though it by no means makes that victory inevitable. Republican leaders profess to see in the big registration the promise of a heavy protest vote in their favor, but they are puzzled because the increases are proportionately heaviest in the Democratic strongholds of the big cities, where a protest would more naturally take the form of simply keeping away from the polls. Such speculation, while fascinating as a game, is fruitless, however, and even damaging if it interferes with a last-ditch fight. It should be obvious to all liberals that the fight is worth while, regardless of the chances, and regardless of the shortcomings of the Democratic Party. A Republican House, a Democratic Senate, and a politically unskilled President form a combination that can only mean national paralysis for what are almost certain to be two of the most crucial years in the country's history.

*

THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE HAS ENDED without bringing peace much nearer. In fact, its most conspicuous result has been the solidification of the Eastern and Western blocs and the widening of the gulf between them. Again and again, voting in the plenary sessions on the most crucial sections of the five treaties was fifteen to six, with the Slav minority fighting each point to the bitter end. This division of votes means that on the most controversial questions the westerners obtained the two-thirds' majority needed to give conference decisions the force of "recommendations" rather than "suggestions." But this does not mean that when the Council of Foreign Ministers gets down to the business of preparing final drafts, these decisions will be incorporated. Since unanimity among the Big Four is required, the battles over the Trieste constitution, Danubian navigation, and the economic clauses of the treaties will be fought again. Eventually, if there is to be peace at all, both sides will have to make compromises. But

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the kind of atmosphere that makes for reasonable compromise is lacking and likely to remain so unless a new effort is made to exorcise the ghosts of suspicion which haunted the Luxembourg Palace.

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APPROVAL OF THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION should end the political instability created by eighteen months of successive referendums and elections. Although the new code was adopted by a slim margin of a million votes, there is no reason to believe that the parties which favored it will lose ground in the November 10 elections; on the contrary, it is logical to assume that many of the people who, under the moral pressure of General de Gaulle, abstained from voting will regain their freedom of action at the polls next month. The closeness of the vote makes it imperative for the three major parties to continue the coalition; the small crowd that demonstrated against the constitution on Sunday night, shouting "Down with Bidault and Thorez," has already pushed the present government forces closer together. If they achieve a genuine working collaboration, they have a chance in the coming period to reduce reactionary opposition and gradually consolidate the new French democracy.

*

WITH CAPTURE OF KALGAN BY KUOMINTANG troops, the hope of preventing a full-fledged civil war in China has vanished. Although General Marshall made an effort to arrange a last-minute truce, neither side was willing to accept the other's proposals. The deadlock that has so long persisted seems to be more firmly set than ever. Alarmed by continued American aid to the Kuomintang while the United States was presumably acting as an impartial arbitrator, the Communists are insisting that the Kuomintang live up to the entire January agreement or drop the pretense of negotiating. The Kuomintang has been rather obviously stalling in the hope of obtaining by military force what it could not obtain in negotiation. In his "Double-Ten" Day address Chiang Kai-shek, who has just been renamed to the Presidency for an indeterminate period, made no reference to his commitment to set up a coalition government and said nothing about the administrative and agrarian reforms which liberal groups have been advocating as the basis for a democratic regime. But he vigorously attacked the Communists for "plotting" to divide the country and once more urged that the National Assembly be called to ratify the Kuomintang-drafted constitution before the January agreements are put into force. Since American mediation efforts have clearly failed, it would appear that the suspension of American economic and military aid, as implied in the Truman directive of last January, offers the only hope of averting American-supported civil strife.

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Primer for Atomic Politicians

BY J. KING GORDON

THE public debate on the international control of atomic energy has degenerated into an unseemly brawl largely because of a studied disregard of the essential facts in the case. No politician likes to be reminded that he should go back to school, study texts, and become acquainted with a technical subject which up to a few years ago was a closed book to 99 per cent of laymen. In the field of big principles and big generalities the politician is at home. On a high moral plane he can argue with feeling about sacred sovereign rights, the intransigence and menace of foreign powers, the incompatibility of political systems, the broad principles on which international peace must rest. He has even become fairly adept in tossing the "veto" around in political volley ball.

When it comes to a discussion of the actual details of a scheme of international control he flunks out on the first test, either because he considers these matters of secondary importance or simply because he has not made himself familiar with a new subject which was not included in his elementary political textbooks. When, for example, an international inspection system is mentioned, his imagination conjures up armies of U. N. functionaries, mostly foreigners, roaming the wastelands of Canada and Siberia, overrunning factories in Stalinsk and Oak Ridge, and opening suitcases in the parcel rooms of Grand Central Station. The practical difficulties in setting up such a system appear to be so vast that they simply underline the hopelessness of the international political impasse. No wonder our defeatists rush back to their political bomb shelters, to their arms factories and their B-29's, or else soar out into the stratosphere where the world state is being set up.

It is with no thought of evading the gloomy realities of the big-power conflicts that we suggest that the atomic politicos and their disciples might devote some of their anxious hours to a study of the actual work of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. It is perhaps because the members' days are spent in close proximity to super-explosive material that they deny themselves the luxury of the loud-popping phrase. They know that ultimately political decisions will have to be faced, but they have concluded that there is more chance of reaching top-level agreement if the problem is stated in specific terms. True, there have been the exhibition fireworks of Messrs. Baruch and Gromyko, but in the main the commission has confined itself to a careful examination of the prerequisites of any satisfactory scheme of atomic-energy control.

The first major advance registered was the report issued by the Scientific and Technical Committee, which discussed the *feasibility* of a system of safeguards to permit the development of atomic energy for peaceful ends and prevent its use for purposes of destruction. The committee met in informal private sessions, and its members were able to carry on discussion and debate in their capacity as scientists and not as representatives of their respective countries. It is of considerable significance that Dr. Richard Tolman of the United States, Sir Paget Thomson of Great Britain, Professors Skobeltsin and Alexandrov of the Soviet Union, Professor Pierre Auger of France, and the other representative scientists could reach unanimous agreement on a report in the preparation of which they had all participated. Their report deliberately avoided political issues but provided the necessary technical basis for any effective system which was later to be developed at the policy level.

The next important advance was made last week when, on a proposal of General Andrew McNaughton, head of the Canadian delegation, Committee 2 unanimously agreed to enter into discussions of the safeguards *necessary* to insure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. Following the breakdown of the problem of control as outlined in the technical report, General McNaughton proposed to divide the work of the committee into three successive phases. In the first phase the committee with its scientific advisers would seek to formulate the various measures necessary to prevent the *diversion of materials* at each stage in the production of atomic energy. Here, for example, the system already set up in Canada, where the uranium mines are completely under government operation and control, might provide useful examples. In the second phase the committee would discuss safeguards to prevent *clandestine operations* whether of mines, installations for the production of atomic fuel or radioactive materials, or actual bomb factories. As the technical report emphasized, clandestine operations in the later stages of the process are most dangerous not only because of the higher concentration of U-235 but because of the extreme difficulty of detection. In the third phase the problem of *illegal seizure* by individual governments or groups within nations would have to be discussed and safeguards devised to prevent it.

This approach has several obvious advantages. First, the discussions will bring together policy representatives and scientific advisers, and they are bound to have the effect of educating the policy-makers in the actualities of the problems of control. It is also to be hoped that they will eliminate some of the misconceptions around which the wordiest debate has raged. Second, as in the case of the technical report, the findings of the group will constitute a joint international effort. The report when it appears may seem to articulate in specific detail the broad implications of the Lilienthal and Baruch reports, but it

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will have eliminated the suggestion of "you-must-take-our-plan-or-we-won't play." Third, the report would provide a frame of reference within which the system of international control—called for by the Moscow Foreign Ministers conference of December, 1945, and the United Nations Assembly of January, 1946—could be worked out.

There are no short cuts to international security. And many difficulties ahead of the Atomic Energy Commission will have to wait for their solution on a vastly improved political climate. But at least it should stop defeatists to consider that in one important section of the United Nations men of good-will and trained intelligence have worked out a pattern of international negotiation that has already produced results. The shadow of Hiroshima is still with us; but it has lifted a little.

OPA in Extremis

COMMENTING on the second price-control bill, an editorial in *The Nation* of July 27 suggested that "even though the bill were a sound one, it is doubtful whether effective control over prices could be reestablished. Three weeks of mad markets have shattered the line, and stouter levers than Congress has provided would probably prove powerless to roll prices of primary products back to the June 29 level."

In the weeks since, our misgivings have been only too well justified. Prices of primary products left uncontrolled, such as cotton, butter, milk, and tobacco, have continued to soar. This has meant a further upward move in the cost-of-living index and has forced the OPA to raise ceilings for goods still controlled, such as cotton textiles. Meanwhile, products put back under ceilings as a result of the decisions of the Decontrol Board have all but vanished from the market. And as the price line gives at point after point, the strain on the wage lines grows increasingly severe. The whole stabilization policy, in fact, is approaching collapse.

President Truman would surely have been politically smart if he had listened to those advisers who urged him to veto the second price-control bill as he had the first. Instead, he decided to keep up the battle against inflation with the blunt weapon Congress had given him. It has not been possible, however, for him to avoid retreat, and now friend and foe alike are clamoring for a total surrender. The Republicans, compensating for their chronic lack of a positive program, are trying to make the meat famine *the* issue of the forthcoming elections; many Democrats, scared of a hunger-inspired revolt in their urban strongholds, are urging the President to bring back steaks no matter what the cost.

Actually, it is doubtful whether we shall see meat at prices within the reach of the average purse for many months, whatever is done. True, the prospective supply is relatively large—146 pounds per head in the coming year as compared with 125 pounds before the war—but at the present national-income level the prospective demand is 160 pounds. This means that prices, if uncontrolled, will rise to a point at which the lower-income groups will be forced to cut their purchases drastically; total consumption will thus be equated with the production level.

One reason for the present meat shortage is the killing, in two senses, that stock-raisers and packers made during the OPA "holiday" in July and August. Immature animals which should have spent several months in the feed-lots putting on weight were rushed to market to take advantage of soaring prices. As a result, the "pipeline" from range to consumer was nearly empty when ceilings were reimposed. It has failed to fill up again because of a sharp fall in pressure at the far end and serious leaks at several points. The stock-raisers are not sending their normal volume of steers to the markets. They are angry because meat is kept under control while other agricultural products have been freed. However, before many more weeks pass, lack of grass will force them to reduce their herds. At the terminal markets, where offerings are mostly less than 50 per cent of normal, many of the choicest animals are allegedly bought for the black market and of the others an abnormal proportion is being diverted to the Midwestern feed-lots. The big packers claim that they cannot buy at the going prices and comply with the law, but the validity of this claim is dubious. For most of the beef that is now reaching New York is being handled by independent packers who appear to be able to buy and sell at prices which enable retailers to keep within ceilings. Moreover, it has been widely reported that the big packers and chain-store operators have been establishing huge feed-lots in the corn country and stocking them heavily. They hope, apparently, either to hold back supplies until price ceilings are lifted or, at least, to gain an extra profit from the weight added by feeding.

Is all this evidence of a conspiracy? In a legal sense, we doubt that it is. The stock-raisers are holding back because they can reasonably hope for a bigger profit and have little fear of loss. The big packers can also afford to gamble, especially since they are reaping a harvest from their dairy interests. Probably they have some kind of understanding but a "gentlemen's agreement" is a difficult thing to prove in court.

What is to be done, then? A few hours after this issue goes to press, the President will talk to the nation about the whole stabilization program and announce what plans he has for relieving the meat famine. There are few clues to his intentions, but it seems to us that his choice of policies is a limited one. Only the most drastic measures, including requisition of cattle and meat

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and the reimposition of rationing, would now make control effective, and such measures are neither politically nor administratively very feasible. On the other hand, any attempt to appease the meat interests by raising ceilings or granting new subsidies will mean a further crumbling of the line and may not even serve its purpose of producing more meat. The fact is, business sabotage and political cowardice have sold out price control, producing a chaotic situation which hampers production without perceptibly slowing the advance of inflation. Much as we fear the consequences of a return to the free market, we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the public support necessary to make the stabilization policy effective is no longer forthcoming.

Wallace's New Job

THE news that Henry Wallace will become editor of the *New Republic* is of first-rate importance—political as well as journalistic. It will be welcomed by all progressives, for it puts the direction of an outstanding organ of opinion in the hands of the man who, above all others, today symbolizes the battered but still-surviving ideals of the Roosevelt era. Mr. Wallace's announcement that he accepted the post only when he had been assured every effort would be made "to get the *New Republic* read by workers, small business men, and farmers all over the United States" shows clearly the serious political purpose he will bring to the job. A statement from the *New Republic* itself indicates that changes in style and format and content are planned, aimed at winning a wide popular circulation. This effort to reach levels of the public so far largely untouched by the few existing progressive journals will be watched with hope, only faintly colored with skepticism, by Mr. Wallace's contemporaries. For the country greatly needs a mass-circulation journal of liberal tendency; under Henry Wallace's leadership, with adequate financing and the able support of Bruce Bliven and Michael Straight, who will continue to serve as editors, the *New Republic* should be able to fill, at least in part, that gaping vacancy.

Just as important, politically, is the fact that Mr. Wallace has gained a platform. Since he left the Cabinet his future has been clouded with uncertainty. His sharp opposition to the foreign policy of the Administration, together with the circumstances of his dismissal, put him in an anomalous position as a party leader. He can hardly open his mouth even in support of a Democratic candidate without risking the displeasure of the "regulars." For all his protestations of loyalty, Mr. Wallace is in effect a man without a party. But he is a man with a following, and what he needed was a means of reaching and influencing that following. Otherwise, his leadership would inevitably collapse.

For reasons not fully explained, he decided against serving as head of a union of progressive political groups, including the C. I. O.-P. A. C. Perhaps he felt that such a connection would limit his political freedom; or perhaps he wished to avoid commitment to a coalition representing only one section of the labor movement. Whatever his reasons, Wallace has evidently decided he can best promote his political faith and his high ambitions by steering an independent course with the *New Republic* as his personal organ.

"Nobody's Damn Business"

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, October 11

THE struggle for power by the army and navy broke out into the open this week. The army bluntly challenged the State Department to come out and fight. Professional military and naval officers have been carrying on a behind-the-scenes campaign to dominate Washington ever since Harry Truman took up residence in the White House. Their philosophy was put in plain words by Admiral Halsey when he said, "It is nobody's damn business where we go. We can go anywhere we please."

TRIS COFFIN is a commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The recent brazen attempts by the military crowd to muscle in on both foreign and domestic policy have shaken the capital. One afternoon this week one of the most influential civilian officials here said to me, "This is the real battle. Price controls, civil liberties, taxes are a side issue compared to this. We can't let the army and navy roam all over the world threatening people and becoming more powerful at home."

The story goes back to the spring of 1945 when a frightened and bewildered Harry Truman became President. He was deeply aware of the awful gaps in his knowledge of world affairs. He turned to that salty old sea dog, Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, who had accompanied Franklin Roosevelt to so many meetings with Stalin and Churchill.

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The little artillery captain from Missouri has an unlimited awe of top-rank officers. Admiral Leahy, who is both Chief of Staff to the President and chairman of the powerful Joint Chiefs of Staff, was a good teacher. He propounded the historical military view—the best guaranty of peace is to have the biggest army and navy in the world. Moreover, military leaders, being practical men with experience all over the map, were more capable of dealing with foreign nations than striped-pants diplomats.

President Truman swallowed this easily—hook, line, and sinker. He ardently championed peace-time conscription, lecturing Congressional visitors severely on the subject. He has approved the principle of every plan slipped on his desk by Admiral Leahy.

Secretary of State Byrnes at first resisted the military pressure. He was running foreign policy, or so he thought. He saw which way the wind was blowing when President Truman chastized him at a news conference and Admiral Leahy placed a story with a favored columnist that General Marshall would become Secretary of State. Finally Mr. Byrnes was forced to give in. The heaviest pressures brought against him, he has complained recently to friends, come not from the Senate but from the brass hats.

There has been a continuous series of irritating squabbles between the State Department and the services over bases. The army and navy want to equip and maintain bases all over the world, using hundreds of thousands of troops and millions of dollars of equipment. There are arguments over occupation policy, with General MacArthur blithely ignoring all directives from the State Department. The navy thought up the peace-loving project of sending a large bristling fleet to the eastern Mediterranean. The plan was pared down by the State Department.

Policy toward Russia has been changed by military pressure. The brass hats say the Soviets may attack us unless we scare the hell out of them first. According to civilian advisers in official Washington, Russia does not want war for at least fifteen years. What will happen then will depend on how the two nations are talking and acting.

Last Tuesday afternoon War Department press agents called up correspondents and told them not to miss the conference of Assistant Secretary of Air Stuart Symington. Real news would break. The Assistant Secretary read briskly from a handout: "The flight of the B-29 Dreamboat over the Arctic wastes is but another proof that General Spaatz is right when he emphasizes the danger of an attack over the polar regions, this because of the far shorter distances that way to the United States from all industrial countries. . . . In the future if America is attacked, our retaliatory attacks will begin immediately, and as soon as possible thereafter it will be necessary to carry and either drop or land troops. Thousands of planes will be needed."

Boris Krylov, the Russian correspondent for Tass, listened with a straight face.

The Assistant Secretary continued: "The air forces will send a group of B-29's around the world if the State Department approves. . . . The specific reason for this flight is to work out technical problems of moving large groups of large planes long distances. The purpose is to train and maintain an air force capable of carrying out an assignment as may be required under the United Nations."

If Symington thought he would get by with this he was mistaken, for the first question was, "Isn't this putting pressure on the State Department?" He answered with a smirk, "Oh, we wouldn't do that." Had the War Department asked permission of the State Department or discussed the flight with it? The answer was no. (As of today, the army has not yet discussed the flight with the State Department.) The planes, Symington said, would cross Egypt and India and fly up the Pacific. A reporter asked sarcastically, "Would the flight involve courtesy calls?" Symington was not enjoying himself. He answered stiffly, "If this is requested by the State Department."

Some of the other questions and answers follow:

Q. Can this flight be compared to the tour of the carrier Franklin Roosevelt in the Mediterranean? Would you expect the same criticism?

A. The flight will not be made unless it is approved.

Q. Are the air forces thinking of the potential use of B-29's as an instrument of national policy, in line with Secretary of the Navy Forrestal's comment that the carrier trip was a part of foreign policy?

A. We like to think of the air forces as an instrument of national policy.

Q. Will this flight allay or increase the fears of the world?

A. What we want to do is further military training. Other matters are outside of the War Department.

Q. You mentioned this flight would help the United Nations. How?

A. Under the United Nations we have a responsibility to further the development of our military knowledge.

A girl reporter in the front row asked, "Is this flight in the interests of peace?"

Assistant Secretary Symington by this time was having a little trouble in keeping his temper. He snapped back at the girl, "Do you think so?" She murmured something about this being his press conference. He closed the matter abruptly, "This is not a matter for the War Department."

Yesterday afternoon President Truman was asked about the flight of the B-29's. This time there was no curt or angry denunciation of an official who was feud-

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ing with the State Department; he replied mildly that no decision had been made.

Then Mr. Truman went on gaily to announce that a naval squadron would steam down to Chile in honor of the inauguration of a new President. Fleet Admiral Leahy would be Mr. Truman's personal representative at the ceremonies.

This afternoon Acting Secretary of State Acheson commented that he had heard only generally of the flight of the B-29's. He had not been informed when, where, or how.

A correspondent inquired, "Do you now have any request from the army for approval of the flight?" The reply was negative.

The Washington *Post*, which has on several occasions reprimanded the services for their lust for power, said in an editorial headed Muscle-Flexing:

> We do not believe that the country's ultimate interests are served by the kind of demonstrativeness contained in Mr. Symington's proposal for a mass flight of B-29's around the world. It is a piece, it seems to us, with Admiral Halsey's bristling boastfulness and with the uncalled-for exhibition of muscle-flexing we engaged in at the time of the Greek elections when there was a demonstration of navy planes over Athens. Some of our military men seem to think their department is the State Department. They behave and itch like frustrated diplomats. . . . Inevitably the tour would bring distrust and suspicion of our motives. It would be a form of braggadocio which instead of calming war nerves would do just the opposite. . . . We hope the President calls off the project. In its way it would undermine Secretary Byrnes's policy as Secretary Wallace's intervention did.

Official Washington is going to take a long look at Mr. Truman's ultimate decision, for press-conference remarks indicate that he has moved in as arbiter. His ruling will be a sign of how he is thinking about the Atomic Energy Commission. The services are lobbying vigorously for the appointment of a military-minded man like Ferdinand Eberstadt.

Behind Egypt's Crisis

BY ANDREW ROTH

Cairo, October 3

ON SEPTEMBER 28 the Egyptian Prime Minister, Sidky Pasha, having failed after six months of negotiations to conclude a treaty with Britain, resigned his office. The ensuing political crisis has significance far beyond Egypt's borders because Egypt is the dominant state in the Arab League and the most important link in the chain of friendly states which Britain has been trying to weld in the Middle East.

A fortnight earlier, when Sidky attempted to avoid resigning by reshuffling his Cabinet, the weekly *Mussamarat al Guib* printed a long account of the complicated love triangle of one of the Cabinet Ministers and asserted that this was at the bottom of Sidky's difficulties. To your prosaic reporter a more satisfactory explanation of the crisis is found in the peculiar character of the country's economic and political life.

Hardly anywhere else in the world is the contrast so sharp between the impoverished many and the wealthy few. The vast majority of Egyptians are illiterate agricultural laborers *(fellahin)* with an average cash income of £10 ($40) a year; they live in filthy mud hovels and usually suffer from two or three debilitating diseases. City workers are but little better off. A policeman, for example, earns £5 ($20) a month in a country where food prices are only about one-third lower than in the United States and virtually all manufactured articles, including clothes, are much higher. In the economic stratosphere, far above the teeming millions, are a handful of opulent pashas. It is difficult to state their wealth in exact figures, for the Egyptian government, in conformity with the pashas' desires, does not reveal the amount of personal holdings. King Farouk's fortune is estimated to be between ten and twelve million pounds (forty to forty-eight million dollars), and there are probably others still larger. No one can doubt the immense wealth of the pashas who has seen their splendid American cars or survived all-night banquets at their luxurious villas, where the tables are laden with delicacies from every continent.

ANDREW ROTH, author of "Dilemma in Japan," is on his way to Asia, but his interest in the aspirations to independence of semi-colonial peoples has led him to prolong his stay in the Near East. He is sending The Nation *frequent reports on present conditions in the pre-war empires of France and Britain.*

PASHAS VS. WAFD

This sharp division between the pashas and the people, with but a thin layer of a middle class in between, is reflected in the political parties. On one side there is the popular Wafdist Party, embracing a majority of the people, and on the other there are the parties of the pashas. The latter are small rich men's clubs with hardly any authentic popular support, but they can win a par-

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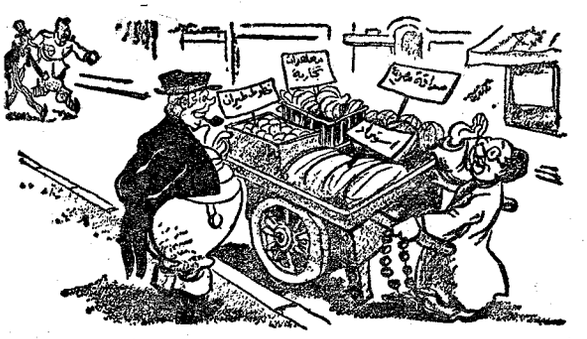
liamentary majority in the fraudulent elections which are the general rule in Egypt. During elections the police load the scared, illiterate peasants into trucks, take them down to the polling places, tell them the name of the "government man" they are to vote for, and then give them a *baksheesh* of perhaps 10 piastres (40 cents).

The Sidky Pasha Cabinet, which was a coalition of Saadists, Liberal Constitutionalists, and independents, spoke with the voice of the pashas. Sidky Pasha himself is one of the economic titans of Egypt. Founder and president of the Egyptian Federation of Industry, he is a director of eighteen large companies—including a flourishing Coca-Cola branch—with a total capital of £54,000,000. The Saadists, headed by Nokrashi Pasha, also represent industrial interests, and the Liberal Constitutional Party speaks for the aristocratic big landlords of Turkish descent and has close links with the Palace.

These groups, like wealthy groups in any country emerging from a colonial status, are torn two ways by their feelings toward Britain. They bitterly resent Britain's control of foreign exchange and its use of the £400,000,000 debt as a means of influencing Egyptian trade. They want to loosen what they describe as their "chains of sterling" and increase their trade with non-sterling countries like the United States. But while they are anxious to improve their very junior position in the Anglo-Egyptian partnership they have no desire to dissolve it. Most Egyptian industrialists' fortunes were acquired in collaboration with British capital. Among the firms in which Sidky Pasha has an interest a majority are dominated by British capital. Egyptians want a bigger share of the spoils in companies operating in Egypt, but they would feel less safe if the British were not around to claim their share. At present many of the pashas are jittery about the mounting labor agitation and general social discontent, which they ascribe not to the people's horrible living conditions and the more than 600,000 unemployed but to the infiltration of Soviet ideas. Feeling too weak to cope with this unrest themselves, they look to Britain to protect them.

King Farouk too is torn by contradictory desires. He has long been strongly anti-British, but he cannot help observing that in British-influenced Greece the monarchy has been reinstated, while in Soviet-influenced Bulgaria the king has been given his walking papers. Little wonder that Farouk recently warned students going abroad to beware of Communist ideas. He is reported to favor an early agreement with Britain.

The British have now offered the following terms: First, they will evacuate Egypt within three years. Second, Anglo-Egyptian military cooperation will be automatic in the event of an attack on an adjacent country like Palestine or Cyrenaica; consultations will be held in the event of an attack on a "neighboring" country like Greece or Turkey. Third, the Sudan will continue to be



— لا يا مواطن .. المرة دي لازم تدفع مقدم .. يا كده يا فاكهتي الزباين كتير !!!

Courtesy of the Cairo *Rose el Youssef*

"No, Sir—this time you must pay in advance or I'll offer my fruit to these other customers first!"

an Anglo-Egyptian condominium—it is actually almost entirely under British control—but after a number of years the Sudanese will be free to decide their own future. Although these terms are unsatisfactory to the majority of Egyptians, the King, Sidky Pasha, and a number of other wealthy men are known to be anxious to have a slightly modified version of them accepted. And they probably would have been accepted but for the constant threat of the Wafd.

The Wafdist thesis that "the Wafd is Egypt" may be an exaggeration, but certainly the Wafd is today and has been since 1919 the political instrument for expressing the nationalist sentiments of the majority of Egyptians. Political observers of almost all shades of opinion agree that in any relatively fair election today the Wafd would get more than 60 per cent of the votes. It is the only party in the political ken of the villager, and he will automatically vote for it unless coerced or bribed.

RIGHT- AND LEFT-WING NATIONALISM

The Wafd has two wings. Of sixty leading members of its right wing, two-thirds are landowners with more than a hundred acres and one-third are industrialists. The Egyptian landlord tends to be strongly anti-British because Britain depresses the price of cotton, which is his main crop, by monopolizing its purchase and by setting up competitive, highly efficient, modern plantations in the Sudan. Industrialists have played a vacillating role in the Wafd. Most of them, because they want to get rid of British competition, start as staunch Wafdist nationalists, but later they either come to terms with British financial interests or are frightened by the Wafdist left; then they become "moderate" and split off to form a new party. Sidky Pasha himself was one of the first to split with the Wafd back in 1920.

The Wafd's left wing has roughly the same relationship to the party as a whole as our Political Action Committees have to the Democratic Party. It comprises student youth, trade unionists, and liberal intelligentsia, and these elements are attempting to convert the Wafd into a party which will not only combat British influence but also work for important social reforms. They have

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been particularly influential in Wafdist publications, and until the party's official organ, the daily *Wafd el Misri*, was suppressed in July, it was that rarity in Egypt, a genuinely liberal newspaper.

In short, the Wafd shows the same sort of cleavage that has appeared in every comparable nationalist party, be it China's Kuomintang, the Indian National Congress, or Mexico's P. R. M. The landlords and industrialists in the leadership are willing to follow a strong anti-British line and make small concessions to the impoverished *fellahin* and city workers, but quite naturally they resist social reforms, for these would undermine their own economic position. The leftists, on the other hand, want not only independence but a better livelihood, and if the Wafd does not move rapidly in that direction they plan to act alone. It is significant that the general strike and demonstration of last February, which was organized by the Committee of Workers and Students, was the first occasion on which left forces led a nationalist upsurge instead of merely supporting a Wafdist movement. Also noteworthy is the fact that the big wave of arrests in July took place on the eve of a general strike called by this same committee to achieve "increased salaries and the complete liberation of the country."

The strength of the Wafd and its articulate left wing pins Britain on the horns of a dilemma. Should it continue to favor the more pro-British conservatives like Sidky Pasha, or should it attempt to come to terms with the Wafd leadership?

If the British negotiators obtain the acceptance of something approximating their present terms, there is sure to be a strong Wafd-led movement against the treaty. Most politically conscious Egyptians consider a year plenty of time to give the British to evacuate Egypt. Long repetition of the slogan "Unity of the Nile" has convinced them that the Sudan should be joined to Egypt. Few care enough about Turkey or Greece to accept a treaty which would bring the hated British soldiers back into Egypt if these countries were attacked. And should such anti-treaty agitation get under way, its direction is likely to be seized by the militant student and labor leaders.

It may be possible to crush the movement; there is plenty of repressive legislation on the books. When Sidky was Prime Minister before, from 1930 to 1933, the unrest caused by unemployment was so great that he tore up the 1923 constitution and closed Parliament. The railway workers then struck against his imposition of a dictatorship, and the police fired into the railway workshops, killing fifty men, whom they buried secretly the following night.

Sidky can also act with more finesse. During his earlier term in office the Wafdist leader Nahas Pasha prepared to make a tour of the provinces to organize the anti-Sidky forces. Sidky gave orders that Nahas and his party should not be allowed in the railway station. When the Wafdists marched straight through the police cordon and boarded the train, the police officer telephoned Sidky: "What could I do? I could not shoot him. That's what they wanted." Sidky laughed and immediately called the railway superintendent. The Wafdists felt quite happy as the train pulled out of Cairo on time, but after an hour they found themselves in unfamiliar country. Sidky had ordered the train to be run out into the desert, and his political opponents were left there to sizzle for twenty-four hours.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE WAFD

From the British point of view any treaty which must be forced down Egyptian throats in this manner would hardly be worth the paper it was written on. Consequently the Foreign Office is looking with increasing favor upon signing a treaty with a Wafdist government. But King Farouk's bitter hatred for Nahas Pasha is an obstacle. In February, 1942, when Rommel was at the gates of Alexandria, the British felt it necessary to have an anti-fascist government in Cairo commanding popular support and forced the King to appoint the Wafdist leader as Prime Minister. Nahas Pasha, knowing that he had British support, flouted many of the sensitive young King's prerogatives, and Farouk's original dislike mushroomed into a consuming hatred. Nahas is now attempting to pour oil on the waters by conciliatory gestures—for instance, he has signed the palace register for the first time in three years.

While Great Britain would have to offer better terms to the strongly nationalist Wafd, it would know that the Wafd could obtain their acceptance by the nation. The weekly *Al Khabar* reports that preliminary moves have already been initiated by Sir Walter Smart, the Oriental counselor at the British embassy, who is said to have called on Nahas Pasha and asked him if, as Prime Minister, he would accept the following terms: first, evacuation to be effected in two years; second, the establishment of a largely advisory Anglo-Egyptian Joint Defense Board, with Egypt's aid in time of war restricted to Egyptian territory; third, northern Sudan to become an Egyptian sphere of influence, and southern Sudan to remain under British control. Nahas's attitude toward such terms is not known, but he has just prevented his party from making an extremist statement on treaty negotiations, presumably because he does not want to go out on any limb he may have to crawl back from.

It is fairly certain that Great Britain will use its influence to instal a Wafdist government in Egypt only if the Wafdist leadership agrees to jettison the party's left wing. This agreement will probably not be difficult to secure, for many prominent Wafdist conservatives are as embarrassed by the radical students and labor leaders in their organization as America's Southern Democrats are by Henry Wallace.

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Pre-Election U.S.A.

BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

III. Will Truman Lose Missouri?

St. Louis, October 8

MISSOURI may be Harry Truman's home state —and Bob Hannegan's, too—but judging by samples of informed opinion from all sections of it, the odds are that the Democrats will lose rather than gain ground here in next month's elections. This may seem odd to an outsider, especially if he knows that in the August primaries the Democratic Party polled almost 70,000 more votes than the Republican. However, in 1942, the last non-Presidential election year, the Democrats got about 90,000 more primary votes than their opponents and still lost to the G. O. P. in the regular fall elections.

The explanation lies in the nature of the Missouri Democrat. In his political habits he is more akin to the Democrats of the solid South than to the Northern urban elements of the party. The sure-fire Democratic strongholds in Missouri are in conservative rural areas. There is politics as well as sentiment in the fact that the rich central part of the state is known as Little Dixie. The central counties, as well as those in the "boot-heel"—the southeastern cotton country—and a few others, almost invariably go Democratic. But in all these counties the primary vote is likely to be greater than that cast in November. This is because nomination is generally, as in the South, tantamount to election. The real fights for county and local offices take place in August, and often more interest is shown in them than in the Congressional races. Many Republicans vote in these Democratic primaries because it is the only way in which they can have any influence in the choice of local officials. Then in November they vote for the Republican candidates for Senate and House.

No cheer prevails at Democratic state headquarters, therefore, over the size of last August's vote. There is, instead, all but admitted fear that unless an unusually big off-year vote is piled up in the cities, the party's Senatorial candidate is in for a bad time. And while it is too early to be positive, the chance of a big vote seems slight. St. Louis, for example, looks safe for the Republicans. In the 1945 municipal election it gave 108,627 votes to Republican Mayor Kaufmann and only 54,115 to his Democratic opponent, Henry Chadeayne.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN is editor of the St. Louis Star-Times *editorial page. Next week election prospects in New York will be discussed by Robert Bendiner.*

Unless this situation is almost reversed, Missouri will have two Republican Senators in the next Congress—for the Republicans will certainly make gains in the rural areas. This is to be expected, first, because of the general post-war reaction against the Administration. Gripes and complaints have accumulated here as elsewhere in the nation, and personal inconveniences apparently are going to weigh more in the polling places than considerations of high policy. There is anger at the OPA. And an almost unreasoning antipathy to organized labor has beeen aroused by the post-war strikes.

Further, President Truman's own stock has gone down in his home state. This was clearly indicated by a survey conducted by the St. Louis *Star-Times* and described in *The Nation* last April. The President's handling of the Wallace affair seems to have intensified the decline. While there was precious little sympathy for Mr. Wallace in rural Missouri, a good deal of displeasure was expressed over the way Mr. Truman first approved of the Madison Square Garden speech and then repudiated it, and first announced that Mr. Wallace would remain in the Cabinet and then suddenly called for his resignation.

The "purging" of Representative Slaughter in the Fifth District may prove to have been even more damaging to the interests of the party. While the President won this fight, he paid a heavy price. He aroused the hostility of party regulars, and Mr. Hannegan did little to placate their injured feelings when he visited Jefferson City to make the keynote speech at the Democratic state convention.

The latest and perhaps most serious result of the Slaughter purge is the charge that voting frauds figured in the victory of his opponent, Enos Axtell. It was no help to the party outside Kansas City for Mr. Axtell to have the support of what is left of the Pendergast machine, and this handicap has now been immeasurably increased by evidence of ghost-voting and other irregularities in at least three Pendergast precincts. The Kansas City election board has admitted the validity of some of the evidence, and the facts have been placed before the federal district attorney and Attorney General Clark. Since former District Attorney Maurice Milligan was able to smash the old Pendergast machine by means of vote-fraud prosecutions, it will do no good to try to sidestep the mess by expressing doubts about federal jurisdiction. The best thing to do now is to push through an investigation as speedily as possible so that the voters

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may know before Election Day how extensive the frauds were and what effect they had on the Slaughter-Axtell contest.

Whether this latest severe blow to the Democrats' hopes will sting them into making a vigorous fight is hard to say. The party has been losing ground in Missouri at least since 1940. True, it was able to elect the present Governor in the last Presidential year, but it was too badly divided to hold on to Bennett Champ Clark's Senate seat. Thus the Democrats were slipping in Missouri at the very moment that Harry Truman came into national prominence at the Chicago convention. Years of coat-tail riding followed by years of short patronage rations have left the party machinery in bad disrepair. So far this year the organizing and the campaigning have been little better than lethargic. Naturally, the National Committee is expected to make a special effort in Missouri, but it has not yet given many signs of it.

These general considerations show what Senator Frank P. Briggs must overcome if he is to go back to Washington. His hope lies largely in his own strength. He is publisher of a Macon newspaper and is favorably known throughout the state by reason of his service in the legislature. His voting record in the Senate is a good one. He is honest, forthright, and progressive. While he may not have been the greatest figure on Capitol Hill, he towers head and shoulders over his Republican opponent, James P. Kem, a Kansas City corporation lawyer. In his campaign speeches Briggs has taken an unequivocal stand on all major issues. He has not even played down his support of the OPA in the rural areas where it is unpopular. He has been friendly toward labor, but since he felt compelled to support the President in the Wallace affair it is hard to say how enthusiastically the P. A. C. will work for him. Indeed, it looks as if the C. I. O. would not be nearly so great a force in the forthcoming elections as it was two years ago. There is reason to believe that many labor voters as well as regular Democrats will stay away from the polls in November. If this happens, Senator Briggs will be replaced by an ultra-conservative Republican of small caliber who will probably do little more in Washington than wheeze about Communists—the chief item in his campaign stock.

As for the Congressional contests, only four seem fairly safe for the Democrats. The Fourth District (Kansas City) is likely to return C. Jasper Bell to the House. The Tenth District (in the boot-heel) is almost sure to reelect Orville Zimmerman. Clarence Cannon—no progressive—probably will win again in the Ninth, and in the Thirteenth (St. Louis), so long and so well represented by Jack Cochran, the chances are that his secretary, Frank Karsten, will succeed him.

The most liberal member of the present Missouri delegation, Representative John B. Sullivan, faces threatening opposition in the Eleventh District (St. Louis). He is running against a young Republican ex-service man, Claude Bakewell, who is sure to get strong support in a district which includes much of the city's Negro section as well as its wealthy West End. Another Democrat with a straight Administration voting record, A. S. J. Carnahan, is also in a hard fight in the Eighth District, where he is opposed by an aggressive Republican—Parke J. Banta. Further to darken Democratic prospects, the charges of election frauds in Kansas City have increased the possibility that Albert L. Reeves, Jr., may win over Axtell in the Fifth. Indeed, the only district in which the Democrats seem to have any chance at all to make a gain is the Second, and even there the Republican incumbent, Max Schwabe, probably has a winning edge over his opponent, William L. Nelson, Jr.

Caricature by Seligson

Senator Briggs

On the other hand, at least five Republican incumbents seem to be assured of reelection. They are S. W. Arnold in the First District, William C. Cole in the Third, Marion T. Bennett in the Sixth, the perennially obnoxious Dewey Short in the Seventh, and Walter C. Ploeser in the Twelfth (St. Louis). Ploeser is the chief hate of the C. I. O., but there is no getting away from the fact that he represents the conservative views of most of his constituents in the suburbs of St. Louis County and on the city's South Side. While he is the target of more denunciations than probably any other man in Missouri, the Democrats have never been able to find a strong candidate to oppose him.

Since Congressional elections are local affairs and are governed by local considerations, especially in non-Presidential years, the general conditions outlined in this article will not exert equal force in every district. Many of the contests look close, and a vigorous drive to get out a big vote could make the results more favorable to the Democrats than they now promise to be. Through his own strength and character Senator Briggs may be able to rise above the fortunes of his party. But a survey made more than a month before Election Day points unmistakably to the conclusion that disorganization and apathy, added to exasperation with the Administration, will bring a repudiation of the President and his party in his home state of Missouri.

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Fascism, Philippine Style

BY R. F. MILLON

II

THE Philippines today, one year after the war, are in ruins. War damages were estimated by former President Osmeña at $1,000,000,000. Industrial losses include 6 per cent of sugar production, 5 per cent of cocoanut-oil production, 70 per cent of mining, 70 per cent of shipping facilities, and 60 per cent of land transportation. The great bulk of the people live in conditions which in the United States would be described as abject poverty. The pre-war national economy was completely geared to export trade. Ninety-eight per cent of all production except locally consumed rice and fish is for export; 95 per cent of that export trade is with the United States.

Against this background recent developments can be more readily understood. At the request of Paul McNutt, and with the concurrence of President Truman, Congress passed the Philippines Trade Act and the Philippines Rehabilitation Act in April of this year. Both measures were enacted with the professed purpose of aiding the Philippines. Actually, neither bill furnishes immediate aid. The Trade Act provides for the restoration of the pre-war dominance of American vested interests in the Philippines and its perpetuation for twenty-eight years; the Rehabilitation Act contains a stipulation that the Philippines cannot receive the act's principal benefits unless they accept the Trade Act.

If the Trade Act had not been passed, all Philippine exports to the United States would have been subject to full duties as provided in the Independence Act of 1934. There was thus a clear necessity for legislation of some sort to aid the Philippine economy, which had been totally dependent on the United States for more than forty years. When the United States first granted the Philippines preferential trade rights the result was the artificial stimulation of the sugar, cocoanut-oil, hemp, and tobacco export industries and the stifling of Filipino industry for the home market. Raw materials were siphoned into the United States; American manufactured goods flooded the Islands. Since immediate severance of economic ties with the United States would have been injurious, it was thought the Philippines would be forced to accept the proposed act with all its one-sided restrictions.

McNutt pushed the Trade Act through the American Congress by going to Washington and lobbying for it. In the Philippines Roxas, after purging his Congress of a large number of opposition members, has finally obtained approval of the measure, and the act now goes before the people in a plebiscite. Bitter opposition is expected from the Nacionalista Party and the Democratic Alliance, which includes the Hukbalahap, the famous war-time guerrilla organization, but the Roxas machine will probably get the necessary majority vote since it controls the election machinery and the counting of the ballots.

The provisions of the act are almost unbelievably harsh and one-sided. Philippine exports are to enter the United States under a quota system. American exports to the Philippines are to have *no* restrictions placed on them and can therefore continue to flood the Islands. Trade will be free until 1954. From 1954 to 1974 duties increase yearly, until the full duty is paid. Pre-war (1940) exporters of products to the Philippines will retain the right to ship the same proportionate amount until 1974. At the Senate Finance Committee hearing on the bill Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton stated that its provisions will force the Filipinos "to give American citizens special rights which we cannot give to Philippine citizens. Moreover, the bill ties the hands of the Philippine government in allocating quotas for certain products. Not only does this deprive the Philippine government of a sovereign prerogative, but it has the effect of giving pre-war producers a virtual monopoly for twenty-eight years of most important Philippine exports. It would enable them to prevent the investment of capital by new American industries, and new Philippine producers would not be able to compete freely in their own country. These provisions should be eliminated."

For the next twenty-eight years American citizens will have equal rights with Philippine citizens in the development of the Islands' natural resources. Filipinos, it goes without saying, receive no reciprocal rights in this country. The new republic will be unable to use its own wealth to develop its industries and will continue in effect to be a colonial source of raw materials for the United States and an assured, controlled market for our manufactured goods. To top it all off, the sorely needed

R. F. MILLON spent eighteen months in the Philippines as an officer at General MacArthur's headquarters, engaged principally in the detection and exposure of collaborators in the Philippine army. The first part of his article was printed in the issue of September 21.

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funds provided by the Rehabilitation Act will not be made available until the Trade Act is ratified by the Philippine Congress. A more brazen attempt at blackmail could hardly be conceived.

The American embassy is now reported to be pressing for extra-territorial rights for American troops in the Philippines and for title to vast tracts of land in the public domain for use as possible future bases. The grant of either would seriously impair Philippine sovereignty. Bitter opposition to these latest McNutt proposals is reported in the Islands.

After the election in April Roxas had a thirteen-to-ten majority in the Senate, not a very comfortable one, for under the old rules still in force sixteen men constitute a quorum. His first move in his fight to force the Trade Act through Congress was to have the Senate declare that in the four provinces of central Luzon dominated by the Hukbalahap the elections were invalid, since the Electoral Commission in its report had stated that frauds *may* have been committed there. Without any investigation and in absolute violation of the law which states that only an electoral tribunal may remove Representatives from public office, the Roxas majority, without a quorum, voted to refuse to seat opposition Senators Diokno (now in New York), Vera, and Romero. This done, the House, where Roxas held a sixty-to-thirty-nine majority, ejected the seven Hukbalahap Representatives but seated the lone Roxas man elected by the voters of the same four provinces. Among those expelled was Luis Taruc.

In my first article I exposed Roxas's collaborationist past. That he has not changed his spots is shown by the fact that the man he has appointed as his official secretary, third in succession to the Presidency under Philippine law, is Emilio Abello, who held the same position under puppet President Laurel during the Japanese occupation. Moreover, many leading collaborators, though they had already been indicted for treason by the People's Court, were on the grandstand as guests of Roxas when he took his oath of office. And Teofilo Sison, convicted of treason by the People's Court but free on bail pending disposition of his appeal before the Supreme Court, was present as an honored guest at the Independence Ball held in the President's palace.

Early in August former "President" Laurel and Jorge B. Vargas, the puppet government's ambassador to Japan, were returned to the Philippines from Tokyo by order of General MacArthur, after having been imprisoned for almost a year by the American authorities in Japan. These two men, whose guilt is so clear that they were to have been tried as war criminals in Tokyo, who were accused by Solicitor General Lorenzo Tanada last March of treason on 131 and 115 counts, respectively, are today asking for pardon under a general amnesty, and their appeal is being strongly supported by the Roxas press. Laurel, in his application for release on bail, has clearly shown what his defense will be if he is brought to trial; it will be based on the embarrassing fact that if he, Laurel, is guilty of treason, then so is President Roxas. Tanada, who for the past year has been chief prosecutor of all treason cases coming under the jurisdiction of the People's Court and who was Solicitor General in the Osmeña Cabinet, has retained both posts under the Roxas regime. Attacked by the anti-collaborationist element for remaining in the now collaboration-ridden government and by the collaborators for insisting on bringing many of them to trial, he has come out with a forthright declaration that Laurel and Vargas must be tried for treason. The chances of a general amnesty, however, are very favorable, for Roxas has no reason to believe that the United States government would offer objections.

The Hukbalahap is now disbanded as a military organization, existing only as the Hukbalahap Veterans' Association, but it is still being subjected to a ruthless campaign of suppression by violence and terror, ostensibly because of its lawlessness, actually because it has agitated for agrarian reforms and civil liberties and because some of its leaders are Communists. An Associated Press dispatch of last June clearly indicated the character of the campaign:

> The military police command, Philippine army, today characterized published stories of a major robbery raid on Pantabagan, Nueva Ecija, as "entirely false." Investigation disclosed that reports that 300 heavily armed Hukbalahaps had disarmed municipal policemen, terrorized townsfolk, and made off with rice, clothing, jewelry, money, and livestock were completely baseless. . .

Caricature by Seligson

MacArthur

> The report is one of a series of similar stories emanating from Nueva Ecija which investigation by American correspondents has shown were entirely fabricated. Apparently deliberate efforts to stigmatize the Hukbalahaps are being made within the province by persons with access to official stationery, or who have forged it. Some of the reports have reached Manila newspaper offices apparently documented by official reports.

While many stories of Huk "lawlessness" have ap-

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peared in the American press, this dispatch denying the stories received little emphasis.

The recently announced "settlement" of the agrarian problem has turned out to be a betrayal of the peasant forces. During the truce agreed on by the Military Police and the Hukbalahap Roxas promised the peasants a considerably larger share of the crop than they received before the war—but less than that guaranteed by former President Osmeña last year. The promise was accepted in good faith by the Huk leaders and transmitted to the people. Since then the Roxas government has flagrantly violated the truce, and virtually open warfare has broken out. Skirmishes involving as many as five or six hundred men on each side have been reported. The Roxas promise about division of the crop developed into a weak recommendation that Congress act in the matter. But Congress adjourned without action. The Roxas drive for forcibly imposed "peace and order" is now in full swing. Juan Feleo, leader of the National Peasants' Union, has been kidnapped and murdered. This outrage provoked Taruc, idol of his people, to issue a bitter denunciation of the Roxas double-dealing and to sever all ties with the government. According to latest reports he has been wounded in the leg in a clash between M. P. forces and a Huk detachment. Recently M. P.'s surrounded two villages in central Luzon and bombarded them with mortar fire, killing many women and children as well as men—because the inhabitants were suspected of harboring Huks.

With a President bent on establishing a fascist state and crushing all opposition by terror, with an economy chained to that of the United States for twenty-eight years to the benefit of America and the detriment of the Philippines, with industry stifled for the same length of time, with the people oppressed and barely able to subsist, the future of the Islands is not bright. The United States is responsible for the situation and should do what it can to rectify it. Pressure should be exerted on President Truman for the prompt withdrawal of United States forces. Pressure should be exerted on the new Congress for the repeal of the restrictive provisions of the Trade Act, on the War Department to recognize officially the services of the Hukbalahap as a guerrilla organization during the period of the Japanese occupation, on the State Department to urge the trial of all "political" collaborators, especially Laurel and Vargas.

There is little time to lose. America's fast-fading prestige is at stake. In the words of former High Commissioner to the Philippines Francis Sayre *(Atlantic Monthly,* March, 1945): "The eyes of the world, and particularly of every people in Asia, are upon the Philippines. The measure of American influence for good in the Far East for years to come will depend largely upon the wisdom and sincerity of American conduct in the Philippines."

In the Wind

WE THE PEOPLE: In answering a recent poll by the University of Denver's National Opinion Research Center, only 21 per cent of the persons questioned said they had ever heard of the Bill of Rights.

OF THE UNITED STATES: Jeff Davis, king of the Hobos of America, Inc., has announced, in Chicago, that hobos are staying off the rods "as part of their patriotic activities in aiding reconversion."

IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION: Gerald L. K. Smith says in *The Cross and the Flag:* "Wheeler made a mistake. . . . He thought it was good politics to deny or mildly repudiate those of us who have been his friends and admirers through the years. . . . The repudiation of old friends who may have been smeared is bad politics. . . . Young, new, and fighting Nationalists realize that there is only one way to be a Nationalist, and that's all-out for your friends and supporters all the time."

ESTABLISH JUSTICE: Joe Louis Barrow has been ruled not acceptable as a candidate for inclusion in "Who's Who." James Joseph Tunney has been listed in that reference book since 1938.

INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY: The July issue of *Writer's Digest* carried an article advising authors on how to write for religious publications. Among other helpful hints, it advises authors specifically to avoid using:

evolution (as a word and as an idea)
social gospel (the idea and the word connected with it)
brotherhood of man (word and idea)
racial equality (word and idea)
tolerance (word and idea)

PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE: Two "colonels" in New Bern, North Carolina, have organized the Confederate Air Force.

PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE: A discharged American veteran living in Mexico City has applied to the Veterans' Administration for aid under the G. I. Bill of Rights to finance him in studying bullfighting.

AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY: An Associated Press dispatch reports that a churchman just returned from Europe told a recent W. C. T. U. convention that "America is on a 'lost weekend binge' which is imperiling its relations with Russia." He added that "a drunken America can't compete with a sober Russia."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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The People's Front

WAR before the first snow falls," was the talk in certain circles a few months ago. Time has since disposed of that suggestion, and we may reasonably expect the first spring flowers to bloom in a world at peace. But if such rumors have subsided, one still hears—both privately and in public—many complacent comments on the decisive political efficiency of the atomic bomb.

There are many in this country who hold the view that since the differences between the political and economic systems of Russia and the West must sooner or later lead to conflict, it would be wiser to settle that conflict while the United States still has a monopoly of the bomb. The basic error in this argument is the notion that with the atomic bomb wars can be won by robots and push-buttons. In fact, the idea that a rain of atom bombs on Soviet territory would liquidate the whole hateful system in a matter of weeks—even atomic enthusiasts no longer speak in terms of hours—is pathetically naive. Professor N. F. Mott of Bristol University, chairman of the Atomic Scientists' Association formed recently in Britain, neatly demolished this conception when he said, "To call a spade a spade, the Red Army would not be stopped in its march on Calais." While I was in Moscow, I heard a young foreign diplomat say to a French colleague, "Well, if they bombed Moscow, the Russians would retreat to the Urals, and then to Siberia, and then to China." To which the Frenchman replied, "Yes, but what I'm afraid of is that they might also retreat toward Paris."

The problem, then, is not to bomb Russia into submission, but to bomb Europe and the Levant and the Far East as well. It will not be too easy. Better let the spring pass, just as the autumn is passing, and put off talk about war against Russia until summer when people are more relaxed.

Since James P. Warburg took the trouble of cabling to Germany to check the accuracy of my information (see his letter to the editors on page 454), I felt it would be only fair, both to him and to readers of *The Nation,* to meet his criticisms with equally substantial evidence. I therefore sent my article and his letter to the German friend from whom I obtained the greater part of the material in question. My informant, a former leading trade-union official, is as thoroughly familiar with the present situation in Germany as anyone could possibly be. Though he has lived abroad since Hitler came to power, the American and British occupation authorities have sought his assistance on very important missions of investigation, and he has spent much of the past year in Germany. He is a Socialist, close to Schumacher.

To take up the food problem first. I thought I had made it perfectly plain that I was discussing the distribution of food packages from abroad, not the official rationing system. Food packages—which, incidentally, were allowed to come into the American zone in April and into the British in July, and which have been sent not merely by individuals but by relief organizations and religious groups—mark the difference between relative comfort and near-starvation.

In his reply to my letter my German friend objects to the statement that "the Germans must support this party [the C. D. U.—Christian Democratic Union] if they want to eat." He thinks it would be more accurate to say that "the C. D. U. uses the food packages to build up its political position among the German people." He supports my charge that the church party largely controls the distribution of these packages. He says, in part: "Eighty per cent of these private food packages go to the church charity organizations; 10 per cent to the Socialist Workers' Welfare; and 10 per cent to other relief organizations." As further evidence, if any is needed, Landrum Bolling, writing from Berlin to the Overseas News Agency on September 12, reported: ". . . the entire distribution, from the top committee, which consists of Catholic and Evangelical functionaries but without a single health or welfare expert, down to local parishes, is in the hands of people who are more interested in advancing the interests of the institutions with which they are connected than in determining, objectively, the greatest need and distributing the limited supplies accordingly."

With the rest of my remarks—about the Colonel Blimps, and Hugenberg, and denazification—my German friend is in complete agreement, and I will gladly make available to Mr. Warburg or any other interested reader the full text on these points of his three-page, single-spaced letter. Regarding the Blimps I might cite as further corroboration the recent series published by the conservative Swiss *Journal de Genève* under the by-line of its Berlin correspondent, Georges Blum, who if anything is still more conservative. But just as conclusive is the dispatch from Frederick Kuh in *PM* of October 11 which described a secret memorandum from the British Commissioner of Schleswig-Holstein protesting against "the withdrawal of Britain's support from the German Social Democratic Party" and its backing of "the right-wing Christian Democratic Party." Kuh reports the Socialists as "bitter and disillusioned at the turn which Britain's attitude has taken."

And though Hugenberg is described by Mr. Warburg as "eighty-five and paralyzed" (he is actually eighty-one), his arrest on October 4 by order of the British indicates that he *has* been "active politically" and is not considered harmless; the details of his doings and those of his colleagues in the Conservative Party were reported day after day in the newspapers of France during July and August and are easily available to Mr. Warburg. As for denazification, I could quote here dozens of British and American reports of the increased use of Nazis in high places. One of the most recent appointments in the British zone is that of Fritz Busch to the post of Director of Railroads. Busch had been a member of the Nazi Party since 1933; I even know the number of his membership card—2,956,700.

DEL VAYO

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Trade Barriers Under Attack

THE most consistent and constructive aspect of American foreign policy in recent years has been its emphasis on the importance of loosening the chains which hamper the fruitful exchange of goods between nations. Much of the credit for this is due to Cordell Hull, who, whatever his shortcomings as Secretary of State, brought to his office in 1933 a lifelong passion for freedom of trade. His steady pursuit of this objective, however, would not have been possible without the backing of President Roosevelt, who shared his belief that the constriction of international commerce was inimical both to international peace and to national prosperity.

Throughout the war the Hull-Roosevelt team held steadily to the idea that the organization of the future peace would be incomplete, indeed impossible, unless it included provision for the abolition of economic warfare and the promotion of international economic cooperation on much more ambitious lines than had ever before been attempted. The Atlantic Charter and the Master Lend-Lease Agreements proclaimed the principles whose adoption they sought. UNRRA, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Fund and Bank, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations are some of the institutions which have been set up to translate these principles into practice.

Now the time has come for a direct attack on trade barriers of all description. Last February the Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution calling for a conference of all member nations to establish an international trade organization and appointing a preparatory committee, consisting of the Big Five and fourteen other important trading nations, to make arrangements for such a conference. When that committee meets on October 15, it will have as a basis of discussion a "suggested Charter for an International Trade Organization" which was published by the State Department a few weeks ago.

The purpose of such an organization, this document declares, shall be: "In general, to promote national and international action for the expansion of the production, exchange, and consumption of goods, for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and for the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce." That covers a lot of ground—so much, in fact, that it is impossible for me to give even the barest summary of the provisions of the suggested charter. The complexity of the problems it tackles, however, can be suggested just by listing some of the subjects dealt with in one chapter under the heading General Commercial Policy. They include: general most-favored-nation treatment; freedom of transit; anti-dumping and countervailing duties; tariff valuations; marks of origin; reduction of tariffs and elimination of preferences; general elimination of quantitative restrictions; exchange controls; export subsidies; state trading; contractual relations with non-members. Other chapters set forth elaborate proposals for policing restrictive private-business practices—such as cartel operations—and for establishing intergovernmental commodity agreements.

The authors of this draft charter—a large, anonymous group of government experts—have approached their task in realistic fashion. They recognize that it would have been utopian to plan for universal free trade, since most countries, and the United States is no exception, are clearly determined to protect their producers from foreign competition. They recognize also that few if any countries are prepared to commit themselves irrevocably against the employment of such devices as import quotas and subsidies. What the charter seeks to achieve, therefore, is the adoption of rules which will insure against arbitrary action by any member of the organization of a kind that will prove harmful to the interests of one or more of its fellow-members. Again, while the charter in no way prohibits countries from imposing tariffs, it does obligate signatories to enter on request into negotiations for reciprocal tariff reductions with other countries belonging to the organization. Above all, the charter seeks to end discrimination, for protective devices are doubly evil when they impinge with unequal force on the trade of different countries. Consequently all commercial agreements or treaties conforming to the charter will have to include most-favored-nation clauses extending their benefits to all members of the organization.

Another realistic feature of the State Department document is its treatment of state trading. It recognizes that while business in this country will probably continue to be conducted mainly by private enterprise, in other countries there is a strong trend toward the nationalization of industry and trade. A charter that sought to block state trading would be completely unacceptable to a large part of the world. On the other hand, a charter which did not provide safeguards against the use of state-trading operations as a substitute for tariffs would be unfair to the private-enterprise countries. For a country which maintained a state import monopoly of, say, steel would be in a position to protect its domestic industry by jacking up prices for the imported material. Therefore the charter provides that in such cases the margins between buying and selling prices shall be subject to negotiation as if they were tariffs. Further, member countries which engage in state trading will be obligated to do business on commercial lines, buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market.

In drafting this charter the State Department consulted representatives of other countries, several of which, including Britain and France, have expressed approval of the general principles on which it is based. However, it is not to be expected that the charter will enjoy a smooth passage either in the preparatory committee or in the full conference scheduled to meet next year. One source of opposition is likely to be the fears of undeveloped nations, such as India, that their industrialization plans will be stunted unless they have a free hand to protect new enterprises. More serious is Soviet disapproval of the whole conception of multilateral trade which the charter is designed to promote. This, however, raises issues which will have to be discussed on another occasion.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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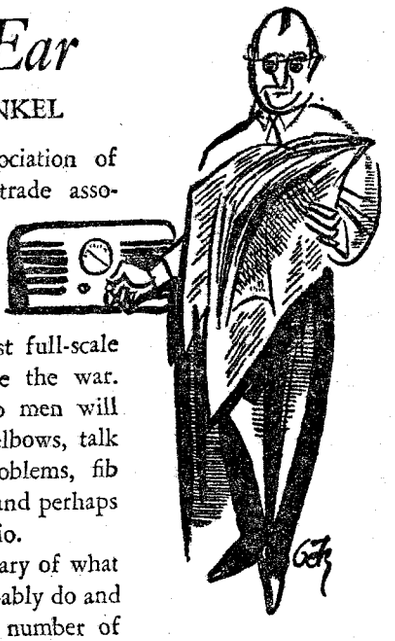
In One Ear

BY LOU FRANKEL



THE National Association of Broadcasters, the trade association of radio, will convene at the Palmer House in Chicago next week (October 21 through 24) for its first full-scale convention since before the war. More than 1,500 radio men will have a chance to rub elbows, talk over their common problems, fib about their golf scores, and perhaps do something about radio.

Here is a brief summary of what the convention will probably do and of some things that a number of radio men would like to see it do.

The broadcasters will struggle with the annual headache of switching from daylight-saving to standard time and back again. Radio programs are sent across country via telephone lines, which brings them from one time zone into another. Thus when people in New York hear Jack Benny at 7 p.m., the listeners in Los Angeles get the program at 3. When daylight-saving time comes around, radio reshuffles its program time so that Jack Benny may still be heard at 7 in New York. Many people in the industry object. But the present system will probably be continued.

Radio men will also battle over the doings of their Broadcast Measurement Bureau, radio's version of an official circulation-measuring unit—what the newspaper publishers call their Audit Bureau of Circulation. They will pat themselves on the back for finally reaching an agreement with the advertising agencies on a standard form of time contract and a standard rate card. And finally they will take up the Federal Communications Commission's "Blue Book" on radio's responsibility to the public.

Everyone will accuse the others of committing the sins that have brought down on all the wrath of the commission. When they get around to doing something, they will amend the anemic broadcasters' code to cut the amount of time now devoted to commercial plugs. Currently the rule of thumb calls for three minutes of commercials on each daytime quarter-hour and each evening half-hour. Since the code has no enforcement teeth the violations are fairly frequent. And since the convention is not likely to put teeth into it, the proposed cuts—of 20 per cent in daytime and 10 per cent in night-time plugs—will give the industry a chance to don sackcloth and ashes for the effect on the listener without curtailing its income.

Unfortunately, an agreement to cut the length of the commercial plug does nothing to improve its content or quality. Nor does it apply to the spot announcement. Radio men of vision are convinced that the spot announcement is the worst thing in radio today. Yet they have no hope that the N. A. B. will do anything to eradicate the evil.

The listener is continually plagued by spot announcements. One comes at the start of a commercial program—this is the cowcatcher; one at the tail end of the program—this is the hitchhike; and one at the station break—at this point the network station in your town sneaks in a local spot announcement between two network programs.

Enlightened executives say that with 60,000,000 radio sets in the country, ownership has reached the saturation point. But, they add, the sets-in-use figures for 1945 showed only 16.6 per cent of the sets being used during the daytime, that is, before 6 p.m., and 27.7 per cent during the evening hours (these figures are the average for the year). Therefore, they say, the way to increase radio's audience is by getting people to listen more often. The networks and the advertisers of network programs believe that their output is as good as they can make it. So there must be something else out of kilter to keep so many people away from their radio sets. And that something, these men reason, is the spot-announcement plague.

They would like the industry to educate the local station operator not to sell spots to the local advertiser. Stations sell and local merchants buy these spots on the assumption that they are the cheapest thing that will do the selling job. This, say the big-time entrepreneurs, was true at one time, but now the local spot is sandwiched in between a hitchhike and a cowcatcher and simply irritates an already irritated listener. If you consider that local radio income in 1945 was about $175,000,000 and that most of this income came from spot announcements, you will realize how many spots there are.

Local stations, instead of selling spots, should be peddling quarter-hour programs. Radio men who have studied the situation say the average one-minute spot, on the local level, costs about one-third of the local quarter-hour program rate. If the local station sold the merchant a fifteen-minute program, the sponsor would get his three minutes of commercial time, would make a better impression on the listener, and would have a program that could be merchandised and used to increase his prestige; most important of all, the ear of the radio audience would not be disgusted.

Until radio executives can convince the industry association that the spot problem must be solved—and they have not done it this year—no relief can be expected. Not unless you, the listener, complain.

LOU FRANKEL is continuity director of Station WHCU of Cornell. His page appears each week.

WORTH HEARING

FRED ALLEN (NBC, Sundays). One of radio's top humorists even though the first program, with Lowell Thomas and H. V. Kaltenborn as guests, did not measure up.

LAGUARDIA (ABC, Sundays). Interesting even when, as sometimes happens, he has nothing to say.

OZZIE AND HARRIET (CBS, Sundays). Suburban America at home, even to the moppets, and fine comedy too.

LUX RADIO THEATER (CBS, Mondays). Commercial radio at its most efficient advertising level. A long-time favorite and a good example of radio as "the peepul" like it.

BESSIE BEATTY (WOR, New York, daily). The first of the Mr. and Mrs. programs and still the best.

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Between the Porch and the Altar

I

Mother and Son

Meeting his mother makes him lose ten years,
Or is it twenty? Time, no doubt, has ears
That listen to the swallowed serpent, wound
Into its bowels, but he thinks no sound
Is possible before her, he thinks the past
Is settled. It is honest to hold fast
Merely to what one sees with one's own eyes
When the red velvet curves and haunches rise
To blot him from the pretty driftwood fire's
Façade of welcome. Then the son retires
Into the sack and selfhood of the boy
Who clawed through fallen houses of his Troy,
Homely and human only when the flames
Crackle in recollection. Nothing shames
Him more than this uncoiling, counterfeit
Body presented as an idol. It
Is something in a circus, big as life,
The painted dragon, a mother and a wife
With flat glass eyes pushed at him on a stick;
The human mover crawls to make them click.
The forehead of her father's portrait peels
With rosy dryness, and the schoolboy kneels
To ask the benediction of the hand,
Lifted as though to motion him to stand,
Dangling its watch-chain on the Holy Book—
A little golden snake that mouths a hook.

II

Adam and Eve

The Farmer sizzles on his shaft all day.
He is content and centuries away
From white-hot Concord, and he stands on guard.
Or is he melting down like sculptured lard?
His hand is crisp and steady on the plow.
I quarreled with you, but am happy now
To while away my life for your unrest
Of terror. Never to have lived is best;
Man tasted Eve with death. I taste my wife
And children while I hold your hands. I knife
Their names into this elm. What is exempt?
I eye the statue with an awed contempt
And see the puritanical façade
Of white church that Irish exiles made
For Patrick—that Colonial from Rome
Had magicked the charmed serpents from their home,
As though he were the Piper. Will his breath
Scorch the red dragon of my nerves to death?
By sundown we are on a shore. You walk
A little way before me and I talk,
Half to myself and half aloud. They lied,
My cold-eyed seedy fathers when they died,
Or rather threw their lives away, to fix
Sterile, forbidding nameplates on the bricks
Above a kettle. Jesus rest their souls!
You cry for help. Your market-basket rolls
With all its baking apples in the lake.
You watch the whorish slither of a snake
That chokes a duckling. When we try to kiss,
Our eyes are slits and cringing, and we hiss;
Scales glitter on our bodies as we fall.
The Farmer melts upon his pedestal.

III

Katherine's Dream

It must have been a Friday. I could hear
The top-floor typist's thunder and the beer
That you had brought in cases hurt my head;
I'd sent the pillows flying from my bed,
I hugged my knees together and I gasped.
The dangling telephone receiver rasped
Like someone in a dream who cannot stop
For breath or logic till his victim drop
To darkness and the sheets. I must have slept,
But still could hear my father who had kept
Your guilty presents but cut off my hair.
He whispers that he really doesn't care
If I am your kept woman all my life,
Or ruin your two children and your wife;
But my dishonor makes him drink. Of course
I'll tell the court the truth for his divorce.
I walk through snow into St. Patrick's yard.
Black nuns with glasses smile and stand on guard
Before a bulkhead in a bank of snow,
Whose charred doors open, as good people go
Inside by twos to the confessor. One
Must have a friend to enter there, but none
Is friendless in this crowd, and the nuns smile.
I stand aside and marvel; for a while
The winter sun is pleasant and it warms
My heart with love for others, but the swarms
Of penitents have dwindled. I begin
To cry and ask God's pardon of our sin.
Where are you? You were with me and are gone.
All the forgiven couples hurry on
To dinner and their nights, and none will stop.
I run about in circles till I drop
Against a padlocked bulkhead in a yard
Where faces redden and the snow is hard.

IV

At the Altar

I sit at a gold table with my girl
Whose eyelids burn with brandy. What a whirl
Of Easter eggs is colored by the lights,

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Current fiction

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By CHRISTINA STEAD

A brilliant novel about young women in these years of change. "These were the facts, Miss Stead seems to say; this is the way millions of girls live and speak and love today, and these are the reasons for it."—SATURDAY REVIEW. *$3.50*

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By RUTH D. TUCK. A detailed, thorough account of the cultural and social conflicts between Anglo-American and Mexican-American populations. "This book is welcome as one of the few attempts to present problems of adjustment of a much neglected minority group."—CHICAGO TRIBUNE. *$3.00*

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As the Norwegian dancer's crystalled tights
Flash with her naked leg's high-booted skate,
Like Northern Lights upon my watching plate.
The twinkling steel above me is a star;
I am a fallen Christmas tree. Our car
Races through seven red-lights—then the road
Is unpatrolled and empty, and a load
Of ply-wood with a tail-light makes us slow.
I turn and whisper in her ear. You know
I want to leave my children and my wife,
You wouldn't have me tied to them for life . . .
Time runs, the windshield runs with stars. The past
Is cities from a train, until at last
Its escalating and black-windowed blocks
Recoil against a Gothic church. The clocks
Are tolling. I am dying. The shocked stones
Are falling like a ton of bricks and bones
That snap and splinter and descend in glass
Before a priest who mumbles through his Mass
And sprinkles holy water; and the Day
Breaks with its lightning on the man of clay,
Dies amara valde. Here the Lord
Is Lucifer in harness: hand on sword,
He watches me for Mother, and will turn
The bier and baby-carriage where I burn.

ROBERT LOWELL

Signs of the Times

AN INCREASING number of American intellectuals are reading—and being influenced by—Professor Arnold J. Toynbee's monumental work "A Study of History," of which six volumes, of a projected nine, have so far been published (Oxford University Press, Volumes I, II, III, 1934, $17.50; Volumes IV, V, and VI, 1939, $23). This is not surprising. The work has many solid merits, and its very scope and form are stimulating and exciting to a generation of historians brought up in an arid tradition of academic specialization. Moreover, in a time when the interconnectedness of the world's continents and cultures is both more real and more apparent than ever before, and when serious scholars leave the larger problems of history and politics to quacks and columnists, it is altogether natural that so distinguished a work on universal history as Toynbee's should be eagerly read and deeply pondered.

The merits of Toynbee will be immediately obvious to the reader, so much so, indeed, that they may entirely blind him to its weaknesses. For the benefit of those who are unacquainted with his work I should like to quote a distinguished scholar whose opinion carries more weight than mine possibly could. Reviewing the first three volumes of "A Study of History," M. M. Postan, professor of economic history at Cambridge University, had the following to say (the *Sociological Review*, January, 1936):

> The infinite wealth of fact and allusion creates a pattern as intricate and a texture as rich as those of an Oriental carpet. There is no subject in history which it does not touch, and for every subject it touches it gives a complete summary of the present position in scientific discussion. . . . Professor Toynbee possesses the gifts of a truly great encyclopedist, of a Diderot or a D'Alembert, for he is capable of holding and giving out essential information while pursuing an argument. It matters not that on some topics the information is slightly out of focus, or that on others the present state of knowledge is too nebulous and too yielding to be even summarized with impunity by men with a philosophical purpose. What is important is that for the first time the essentials of modern knowledge in every imaginable field of history and archaeology have been set out by a man capable of comprehending and handling them.

This is high praise indeed, but it is amply justified. It is astonishing how much information Toynbee has packed into the six volumes which have so far been published. Professional historians will be delighted with the range and meticulous accuracy of his scholarship, while the layman will find that almost every page contributes to the enrichment of knowledge and understanding. Nearly everyone has at one time or another heard about or read references to a great number of historical figures and events without having more than the vaguest idea of their background and significance. It is this fact more than anything else, I suppose, which makes Toynbee such fascinating and rewarding reading. Time and again one feels that these odd bits of half-knowledge suddenly emerge from obscurity, assume a lifelike form, and fall into their proper historical frame of reference. The reader of "A Study of History" experiences all the satisfactions of the traveler who finally visits cities and countries which have hitherto remained unreal abstractions. Moreover, the work is written in so graceful a style and with such a wealth of metaphor and allusion that it deserves to rank high as a literary product in its own right.

Dwelling on the merits of such a work as this, however, is not particularly useful except in so far as it induces people to read it, and I hope I have made it quite clear that "A Study of History" is well worth all the time and attention which it requires. The rest of this article, therefore, will be devoted to a critical analysis of the work, which I hope may assist those who are persuaded to read it to a just appreciation of Toynbee's contribution as a whole.

Toynbee's method, reduced to its barest essentials, is to treat Hellenic (Graeco-Roman) "civilization" as an archetype to which all other civilizations, past and present, are assumed to conform with more or less fidelity. This results in the establishment of a theoretical schema—expressed in such concepts as birth, growth, breakdown, disintegration, creative and dominant minorities, internal and external proletariats, universal states, universal churches, etc.—which is used for the purpose of bringing form and meaning into a vast collection of data from all lands and all ages.

There are numerous objections to this procedure, of which only the most important can be mentioned in a brief review. Toynbee nowhere defines a civilization, and his practice in delimiting particular civilizations is essentially arbitrary. It follows that the historical uniformities which he believes he has discovered by empirical means are in reality imposed upon his materials from without. If he had sought to define a social system—using the term in the scientific sense of a whole of which the parts are interrelated in a definite and

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THE SPEECHES OF
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Edited by
B. D. ZEVIN
Introduction by
HARRY L. HOPKINS

NOTHING to FEAR

"One who has heard Roosevelt over the air — and most of us heard him many times — cannot read the words in this book as mere ink on paper. They are audible. They bring back the circumstances under which they were listened to: the neighbor's radio blaring into the street, and for once not resented; the tense group at an evening party, laying aside untasted drinks as the voice warned Hitler not to come into the Western Atlantic, the stillness in a home as the jazz music stopped and a President prayed before the nation. The speeches will mean these things, or things like them, as long as we of this generation survive." *New York Times* $3.75

The DIVINE RIGHT of CAPITAL

By C. E. AYRES

The New Yorker —

A brilliantly thought out and unconventional analysis of our capitalist system as it exists in a wobbly world, together with a program that suggests how capitalism can be saved from the capitalists. The title might induce a Morgan partner to buy the book, but it's very unlikely that he would enjoy it much.

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ascertainable way—and if he had tried to identify a number of historical social systems, he would have discovered much more diversity than uniformity. It is this lack of appreciation of historical diversity, with its roots in different social systems existing in different environments and with different means at their disposal, which constitutes the cardinal weakness of Toynbee's work.

This weakness comes out most clearly when we consider the present as history, as Toynbee frequently does. Looking at the world around us through the spectacles provided by Toynbee's theory, we see a Western civilization, which has already spread its tentacles into the farthest corners of the earth and is in the process of overcoming or absorbing its surviving rivals, tearing itself to pieces in a crescendo of fratricidal strife. Will this process lead to a knockout blow by which one great power, emulating the example of Rome, will vanquish its enemies and establish a Western universal state? Such an outcome, in Toynbee's view, would be but a temporary respite. No more than in the days of the Roman Empire could a world conqueror of our time save civilization from disintegration and dissolution. Since, however, the theory allows of no alternative course, Toynbee is impelled by logic and emotion alike to look to divine intervention for salvation. He hopes and prays for "Western Christendom" to be "given grace to be born again as the *Respublica Christiana* which is its own earlier and better ideal of what it should strive to be" (Vol. V, p. 194). The last two volumes, written as the storm clouds of war gathered on the horizon, are increasingly occupied with this theme.

The flaw in Toynbee's reasoning is not hard to discover. A prisoner of his own theory, he is quite unable to appreciate the vast changes which capitalism—a scientifically accurate designation for our dominant Western social system—has wrought during the last four hundred years, or to understand the significance of the emergence of socialism as an actually functioning rival social system. Under present-day conditions a theory distilled from the experience of the ancient Mediterranean world is for the most part irrelevant and therefore entirely misleading.

Capitalism's achievements in the realm of science and industry have laid the foundation for an integration into one body social of all existing "civilizations" and of all remaining barbarians as well. Nomadism, once such a powerful historical force, is rapidly disappearing and with it the "external proletariats" which play an important role in all Toynbee's dramas. Science and industry, once again, have altered the social basis of religion. There is no longer any ground on which to build Universal Churches preaching new Higher Religions; nor, sad to relate, is there any prospect that *organized* Christianity will ever play a constructive role again. Higher Religions and Universal Churches were proletarian—in Toynbee's sense of the word—creations at a time when the objective possibility of abolishing the proletarian status did not exist. Today, for the first time in history, that possibility does exist, and the proletariat has reacted by building a socialist movement which is secular in both spirit and aim. It is highly significant that precisely in those parts of the world where the proletarian status of the masses is most extreme and least endurable, people turn to socialism, not to religion, for salvation. Finally, the burning question which we face today is not whether "Western civilization" can be saved from its own suicidal folly, but whether a capitalist social system which has lost its creative power and is rapidly barbarizing its own children can be replaced by a rational socialist order in time to save the fruits of all the civilizations which have flourished on the face of the earth in the past six thousand years.

When we see that Toynbee's theory fails when applied to the present we are naturally led to ask whether he has not, after all, been off on a false trail in dealing with the past; and the answer is surely yes. The true purpose of a study of history should be to discover and analyze and illustrate the inner laws of social change and development. Had Toynbee been pursuing this purpose he must have rejected from the outset the disastrous doctrine of the "philosophic contemporaneity" of all civilizations, and he must have concentrated on problems of variety and development rather than on the supposedly uniform life cycle of members of a single unchanging species. What we want to know from the historian—as distinct from the antiquarian—is how we came to be where we are and what we are today; and Toynbee's contributions to the solution of this problem, however substantial in volume, are essentially incidental.

If space were available, it would be worth while to examine in detail Toynbee's treatment of a number of important historical topics in order to demonstrate how his failure to identify and analyze specific social systems gives rise to false problems and leads to erroneous conclusions. The bare mention of two examples, however, will have to suffice.

One of the most important—and also most neglected—problems in the history of the entire civilized world right up to the opening of the modern period is the repeated eruptions of nomads from the Eurasian and Afrasian steppes into the territories of the surrounding agricultural societies. It is altogether to Toynbee's credit that he fully recognizes the importance of the problem, and his catalogue of nomad eruptions (presented in an Annex to Vol. III) is a magnificent piece of historical research. But his treatment of the causes of the phenomenon is vitiated by a failure to analyze (a) the social structure of nomadism, and (b) the normal relations between nomad and neighboring sedentary societies. As a result he is driven to adopt the quite unsubstantiated and equally unnecessary hypothesis of periodic climatic changes as the cause of nomad eruptions. His procedure is like that of those economists who, having described the wholly social phenomena of the business cycle, sought an explanation in the wholly non-social realm of sunspots. Toynbee adopts this course because he believes that nomadism is really a "society without a history," which is incapable of internal development and change. Anyone wishing to convince himself of the untenability of this view need only consult the brilliant studies of nomadism contained in Owen Lattimore's "Inner Asian Frontiers of China."

In an entirely different field, we find Toynbee categorically rejecting what he calls the "customary" view that "in the eastern portion of the Theodosian heritage the Roman Empire survived until A. D. 1453" (Vol. IV, p. 328) and building up instead the theory that a new Orthodox Chris-

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tian civilization came into being side by side with a Western Christian civilization in the main European domains of the Roman Empire, and that the two societies "are sister growths whose relation to the Hellenic Society is manifestly identical" (Vol. V, p. 6). This theory, however, poses a great riddle: how account for the glaring contrast between a powerful centralized empire in the East which never lost its firm grip on the Orthodox church, and the flimsy Holy Roman Empire in the West which was actually the creature of the church and which committed suicide in the process of trying to win its independence? Toynbee explains the paradox by saying that Leo the Syrian, in turning back the onslaughts of the Arabs, successfully evoked a "ghost of the Roman Empire" in the East; while Charlemagne's attempt to perform the same political feat two generations later in the West proved to be a fiasco. The explanation is unquestionably ingenious, but even a slight acquaintance with the economic and social history of the period is sufficient to reveal its superficiality. The political and administrative structure of the Roman Empire rested upon an urban trading economy with the Mediterranean as its axis and lifeline. The decline of the empire in the West meant the decay of the inland provincial cities; and the interruption of Mediterranean trade, first by the Vandal pirates and finally by the Arabs, gave the coup de grâce to trade and urban life alike. By the time of Charlemagne the objective conditions necessary for a strong centralized state simply did not exist in the West, and they did not again appear until the revival of commerce and cities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By contrast, Constantinople remained throughout the entire period a large city even by present-day standards and the hub of a flourishing eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea trade. The continuity of the Roman Empire in the East is indeed more than a dynastic will-o'-the-wisp.

If Toynbee had taken account of such simple facts of economic and social structure as these, he could have often saved himself much unnecessary effort; and his theories would have gained in solidity what they lost in novelty.

I have tried to point out what are, from a scientific standpoint, the chief defects of "A Study of History." It is equally appropriate, and perhaps no less rewarding, to examine the work as a manifestation of the intellectual climate of which it is a product. Really valuable works on universal history are not an everyday occurrence, and those rare groups or individuals who achieve success in this exacting field seem to exemplify and express to an altogether unusual degree the significant intellectual trends of their own milieu and period. Thus the Encyclopedists have come to be regarded as the arch-representatives of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment; Buckle's "History of Civilization," incomplete as it is, is a monument to the strengths and weaknesses of British liberalism in the heyday of the Manchester School; while H. G. Wells's "Outline of History" catches the spirit of men-of-good-will in the early twentieth century as perhaps no other work does. If we analyze "A Study of History" from this angle, what do we find?

Toynbee himself is a highly civilized person whose learning is matched by an unflagging sensitivity to suffering and injustice and evil. One of the most sympathetic aspects of his

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work, in fact, is its unconcealed contempt for intolerance and discrimination in all their many forms. He is manifestly a product of exactly the same Christian-humanitarian tradition as Wells. But what a gulf separates the outlook of the "Study" from that of the "Outline"! Wells was an evolutionist who saw history as a continuous process of adaptation and growth, an optimist who was confident that the catastrophes of his own time were but the birth pangs of a new and higher society, a rationalist who, believing in the sovereign virtues of science and knowledge, confidently assumed that education is the key to salvation. Toynbee, on the other hand, is at bottom a mystic who believes that man is inherently incapable of shaping his own development and that therefore the only way to make life meaningful is to abandon the effort and embrace religion. From this standpoint history is a series of "philosophically contemporaneous" tragedies; the world we live in is a "City of Destruction"; and concern to know its ways—that is, to study science and economics and politics—is vulgar and superficial: the only worth-while goal of human aspirations is the attainment of the Kingdom of God.

The difference between these two outlooks is a great deal more than the difference between two individuals, important though that may be. Wells, though he wrote in the twentieth century, was essentially a child of the nineteenth; he spoke for an expanding society and a self-confident ruling class. Toynbee, coming on the scene a scant generation later, reflects a society in full decline and a class which has lost its grip and forfeited its claim to the respect and admiration it once regarded as its birthright. As a sensitive member of that class who is at the same time incapable of transcending its outlook and values, Toynbee can only look forward to the future with despair in his heart.

Toynbee's tragedy is, of course, a personal one; but it is more than that, for it is shared by many of the noblest spirits of our time. Knowing this, it is impossible to hear his cry of anguish and remain unmoved. But one must not allow oneself to be carried away. If the times are hard, they are also full of hope and promise for those who retain their faith in the human race and its ability to control its own destiny. It is, after all, to the good sense and steadfastness of ordinary people that we must look for salvation; and the invocation of religion and God amounts at best to abdication of one's responsibilities and at worst to bringing aid and comfort to those who, under cover of the Catholic church, are backing the "barbarians from within" who have no use for either religion or God and who are bent on saving their own privileges at the cost of destroying everything that civilized men have learned to value. PAUL M. SWEEZY

Two Proper Crimes

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE. By Paul H. Kocher. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

THIS is a valuable book for the background of Marlowe's thought; it is not concerned with the baffling detective story of his life, and does not I think recognize the influence of that on his work. There are sections on his knowledge of theology (he knew a lot), astronomy (he had apparently not heard of Copernicus), military technique (from reading only), and witchcraft (pretty sound). The learned precedents for Marlowe's reported blasphemies I think only amount to saying that he could have picked them up easily once he had decided to blaspheme at all. In the section on politics his probable taste for absolutism is explained as due to the "aloofness from human affairs" of a man who seems to have been a government spy for most of his adult life. It is more to the point I think that the Divine Right of Kings was the coming fashion, and coming from abroad; Marlowe was liable to intellectual snobbery and liked to carry an idea to extremes. He was a "man ripe for fascism" all right.

The thesis of this book, according to the blurb, is that he was primarily a Subjective not an Objective playwright, "one of the most highly Subjective playwrights of his age." However, we are told that "Edward II" marks a great advance in the poet's Objectivity, because there he uses irrelevant prejudices in his audience to make them hate the nobles and the king alternately. Such trickery is not Objective in any respectable sense, and if anything it presumably makes the audience more Subjective. Marlowe like other authors achieves the most Objectivity when he best externalizes his Subjectivity, as is dimly recognized on page 279. These ridiculously confusing terms ought to be hooted, I think, wherever they parade themselves, but they do not often succeed in making Mr. Kocher talk nonsense; they are chiefly used to say that the later plays are the more mature.

Mr. Kocher writes well about the puzzle of "Faustus," the question how Marlowe as a declared atheist could feel the story so deeply. He makes clear that Marlowe was fascinated by theology and could write with real horror about the idea of banishment from God. But when Mr. Kocher goes on to say that "there were moments when the ingrained creed sought to take possession of him again, moments when he almost felt that his life had failed of its highest consummation"—in short, that Marlowe was cosily wistful about Christianity, like a Victorian, I feel he misses the whole violence of the thing. If Marlowe had not been murdered so soon he would very probably have been burned alive. It was not hard for him to imagine hell fire. The tension of both realizing and denying the religion was thrust upon him in its most practical form. Surely that is the nerve of the terrific flippancy when Faustus tells Mephistopheles himself that he still doesn't believe in hell. It was not particularly "cold" of Marlowe, as Mr. Kocher thinks, to fail to regard the God of the Christians as a "tender father."

In another field Mr. Kocher is more optimistic about Marlowe's tenderness. "The Aristotelian virtue of friendship, on the other hand, was one of his few real enthusiasms within the limits of orthodox principle," and the friendships of Edward II are given as an example. This emotion, to a man like Marlowe, "would be the clearest revelation of human worth, and an intimation, perhaps not of immortality, but of the presence of a spirit of love. . . . It would always be a bond drawing him towards fuller participation in gentler ideals." The last act of "Edward II" is a crescendo of horror, seen as a punishment deserved by Edward because of his exorbitant love of his favorites. The obscene torture by which he is at last killed is an appalling parody of the

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homosexual act, and while it is being done the text presumes that the actor will wring the nerves of the audience by his yells: "I fear me that this cry will rouse the town."

This does not mean that Marlowe agreed with his audience that the punishment was deserved. Edward gives a long list of classical precedents for his tastes: "The Roman Tully loved Octavius" and so on; it seems clear that Marlowe felt a good deal of Renaissance snobbery about the matter. The peculiarity of the mind of Marlowe is not that it is "aspiring" or "Subjective" or considered "will invincible" but that it erected absolutely opposed ideals. The unmentionable sin for which the punishment was death was *the proper thing to do*. There are two occasions in the plays when Marlowe piles up the horror in this way, the deaths of Faustus and Edward, and they die because of the two crimes for which Marlowe stood boastfully and defiantly in peril of death. It seems to me that this is the primary fact about his work, and that a critic who muffles it up, from whatever kindly intentions, cannot be saying anything important about him.

I ought to add that Mr. Kocher is on top of the "Jew of Malta"; he brings out the high ingenuity of that crackling theological farce, and recognizes—like Mr. T. S. Eliot and unlike Dr. F. S. Boas—that the Jew is a parody of what the audience wanted.

WILLIAM EMPSON

Utopia Reconsidered

BRAVE NEW WORLD. By Aldous Huxley. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

WHATEVER its literary merits, "Brave New World" in the fifteen years since it was first published has caught the popular imagination and become a sort of standard reference to the world of science and the future. By this test, which is not an exact one, it would seem that Huxley's satire is successful and that his images of the over-rationalized life—babies in bottles, the alpha, beta, gamma, delta plus and minus division of society, hypnopaedia and orgy-porgy—should rank, say, with Swift's images of irrationality.

"Brave New World" is, however, a partial satire, its scope taking in but a single aspect of contemporary life. There is in this, as in all of Huxley's novels, a preoccupation with biological theory, the philosophical antecedents of which are social Darwinism and evolutionary thought of the nineteenth century, and whose political connections with the present are perhaps best illustrated by fascism. But there is another strain of thought in modern life on which Huxley's satire does not comment, and that is what one might call the analytic, as opposed to the integrative, tradition, as reflected in some present-day philosophies of science, and which carries over the assumptions and the empiricism of democratic theory from its origins in the eighteenth century. These two traditions are so closely intertwined in the world that it is something of a wonder that Huxley has ignored the latter. There is as much movement in the direction of "individualism," with as much horror in the process, as Huxley, seeing the individual engorged by the group, at the mercy of its pressures, finds in the opposite direction. It seems to me that when Huxley declares in his introduction to this edition of the novel that the state of utopian affairs envisaged in "Brave New World" is now nearer realization than he would

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have thought at the time he wrote it, he is making an optimistic, however grisly, assumption. The nations, though on the brink of total destruction (our greatest theoretical convenience, the atom bomb), are still far from putting away their furious raging together to see what can be done by way of integrative group coercion of the folks at home. Moreover, the integrative process, thus far, and with no sign of letting up, has gone on in virtue of the coexistence of its opposite: *Gleichschaltung* required the Polish furnaces as much as Goebbels, and in Russia there is the N. K. V. D. as well as the charismatic leader cult. The same may be said of the color and race prejudices that infest both British imperialism and our own domestic democracy—one group is solidified at the expense of another. Whole societies are propagandized into cohesion while other whole societies are cut off, all their ties broken before the death that each man in them must face alone. There is therefore no evidence, for whatever comfort this is, that we are moving in a unilinear direction toward Huxley's dread Utopia.

This limits what one can say for the scope of Huxley's satire. Its quality is to be determined by literary considerations, the most important of which is that "Brave New World" is not a good novel. Satire is, of course, a special case, very often departing so far from the novel that it cannot be judged by its standards; but "Brave New World" has the form of a conventional novel and to a large extent its imaginative purpose. Much depends on the inner experience of the protagonists, and the psychological validity of that experience—states of disaffection, rebellion, and reversion to the social norm which mark the behavior of a number of the characters—becomes at times so important to the novel's structure that it occupies a crucial position in the story; the social satire, otherwise the whole bulk of the novel, diminishes at these points to the status of a background. Yet the characters cannot stand out against a background, for by the novelistic standards by which they must now be judged they are no more than paper-thin. Bernard Marx, the undersized Alpha-plus, who as a bottled embryo was mistakenly fed alcohol, puts forth the greatest claim to character in virtue of his defects. He is a possible source of conflict with society, a center of dissatisfaction and opposition out of which drama can arise. But his limitations are too severe—in part, as the result of what his character is within the novel, a necessary limitation, but also as the result of what his character is outside the novel, that is, simply in human terms, where the fault is the author's who tried to make his drama more engaging. Set against Bernard is the novel's true moral hero, the Savage, flown to utopian London from an American Indian reservation. He has in him all the virtues of natural man as well as a poetic remnant, by way of forbidden Shakespeare, of the old culture that once flourished on earth. The Savage is the extreme opposite of the utopian world, and makes the tragic attempt, ending in his suicide, to live as an individual human being in spite of progress. Though he is credible as a repository of the vanished human culture, he is rather hard to take as the mythological figure he is also meant to be. It seems to me that the opposition between artless nature and the utter artificiality of modern man which Huxley tried to establish through the Savage's character was itself utterly artificial. Huxley has by now dropped the Nature half of this opposition, having recognized it as a typically modern myth and therefore far from the unconditioned, fundamental thing he originally took it to be (I believe "Brave New World" is the last of his novels in which the Natural Man as such appears). But Ground, which has since taken the place of Nature, is no more satisfying from a fictional point of view. While representing a position of the utmost metaphysical generality, and therefore, perhaps, free of the specific cultural motives of our time that generated the nature myth, it lacks the latter's vividness in point of imagination and is even less suitable, in being so far removed from contemporary issues as to seem gratuitous, as a source of opposition to modern civilization. For fiction at any rate, opposition to the times is always best centered within the times—which gives the figure of the revolutionary the outright advantage over that of the savage or the mystic. Huxley's antagonists to the world have always lacked this central position; they have, moreover, suffered from the fact that they are clapped together out of convictions which, while undoubtedly sincere, have never proved themselves fictionally by submitting to the test that only detailed, dense, imaginative experience knows how to put to ideas.

Such reservations have to do with the quality of Huxley's fiction as a whole. Considered with respect to their timeliness, where "Brave New World" has the greatest strength, Huxley's novels have all the virtues of philosophy and journalism. As a satire of our present culture "Brave New World," in spite of its limited scope, has at least the philosophical prestige of several well-thought-out criticisms; thus the criticism of the movies, and in general of our passive spectator

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roles in sport, play, and whatever enlivening rewards modern life has to offer—a criticism he has developed elsewhere—enters this novel in the unsurpassed image of the "feelies." The moral of withdrawal and rejection is on all such occasions very well founded both as philosophy and, for its imagistic value, as fiction. But the total withdrawal and rejection exhibit journalism's typical impudence. The confounding on one level in "Brave New World" of Henry Ford, Mussolini, Marx, Lenin, and Freud has no more to recommend its intelligence than a Hearst-press witch hunt, where similar modes of thought are employed.

Perhaps one reason why the social concern of Huxley's fiction is not so broad or so careful as it seems, or certainly as it ought to be, is that his *bête noire* is not the whole of modern social relations but mainly the sexual part. The real horror in "Brave New World" is sex, from the embryo bottle to the contraceptive belt, and the big thing, as in all his novels, is the seduction scene, meant to tie together all the themes and summarize his evaluation, but most fascinating on its own account. The sexual atmosphere in Huxley's books is always one of voluptuous or promiscuous or decadent or undignified, cold, or queasy fornication; and this atmosphere is so heavy that it stifles the moral that love is lacking. Huxley's attempt to give sex its due as a proper reward of life led to such unhappy results as Mark Rampion, the vulgar prude of "Point Counter-Point," who called Beethoven a eunuch, and made Huxley's nature myth as unnatural and inhibited a thing as his subsequent transcendence of nature is forced and old-mannish. Sex, as it seems to have obsessed him, and as it appears in "Brave New World" in transition between mythologies, is the pit in which lies waiting the two-backed beast of our perpetual embarrassment. It traps all with its promise of compensation; it is the escape from horror, from which in turn there is no escape, as the horror itself is deeply sexual. A man, he insists in "Brave New World," has the right to be unhappy, alone, detached, free in his individuality; but while one indorses these precepts, it would seem that they would carry greater conviction, and the satire which surrounds them, greater weight, if the horror to which they represent the recoil had less to do with the sexual attachment. Yet satire is not without an item of ironic self-expense, in that its distortion, which is to shock the world back to sanity, is often itself the most insane thing; without its own disorder it would never call attention to the world's. Thus the distortion of sex, in Huxley's case, its predominance and overwrought horror to which one may attribute his lack of a wider social scope, may actually be responsible for such scope as he has.

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What makes it so difficult to review this philosophy is that it is equally hard to agree or to disagree with it. How could one possibly agree with a philosophy, priding itself on its closeness to reality and experience, which is actually so lost in abstract argument that, following it, and its evaluation of past and present history, one feels oneself happily inside a paradise which rapidly turns out to be a fool's paradise? Dewey earnestly holds that the source of all the social and political evils of our time is laissez faire (supposed to have caused the outstripping of social knowledge by scientific knowledge); but a glance at today's or yesterday's newspaper invariably teaches us that hell can be properly established only through the very opposite of laissez faire, through scientific planning. (This, of course, does not say anything against science as such.) Even more out of tune with reality are Dewey's complacent judgments on those evil times of the past in which men were still slaves and serfs; only a great scholar living in the ivory tower of common sense could be so completely unaware of the fact that certain categories of men today are far worse off than any slave or serf ever was. Nor do we need to evoke the extremities of the death factories. Concentration camps have outlived the downfall of the Nazi regime and are accepted as a matter of course; their inmates belong to a new class of human beings who have lost even the elementary human usefulness for society as a whole of which slaves and serfs were never deprived.

But hard as it is to agree with Dewey, it seems even harder to disagree with him, for such disagreement is like disagreement with common sense personified. And who would dare or like to do that? Dewey's arguments, taken in themselves, without any reflection upon reality and experience, and without any remembrance of the commonplace philosophical questions as they appear and have appeared throughout all times (in proverbs, in prophecy, in tragedy, in art, up to the highest philosophical speculations)—those arguments are always sound and obvious, as though one simply could not think otherwise. This fantastic disparity between the argumentation itself, which in an abstract sense is always right, and the basis of experience, which in its historical actuality is always wrong, may be understood in the light of Dewey's central concept, which is not a concept of Man but a concept of Science. Dewey's main effort aims at an application to the social sciences of the scientific concepts of truth as a working hypothesis. This is supposed to put them on a sound scientific basis from which they and we will progress until the supposed gap between natural and social science is closed.

The intention of this approach is certainly humanistic in essence; it tries sincerely to humanize science, to make scientific results usable for the human community. The trouble is only that, at the same time, science, and not man, takes the lead in the argument, with the result that man is degraded into a puppet which through education—through "formation of attitudes," through "techniques for dealing with human nature"—has to be fitted into a scientifically controlled world. As though it was not man who invented science but some superhuman ghost who prepared this world of ours and only, through some incomprehensible obliviousness, forgot to change man into a scientific animal; as though man's problem were to conform and to adjust himself to some abstract niceties. As though science could ever be more than man; and, consequently, as though such a gap between scientific and social knowledge could ever be more than wishful thinking.

Superstition lies at the basis of all radical optimism and all radical pessimism, whose basic concepts of progress and decline resemble each other like hostile brothers. Both are truths in Dewey's sense, for both are working hypotheses in the historical sciences. Both stem from old and time-honored myths without which they cannot be understood or properly appreciated. The myth of progress presupposes that the beginning of mankind was hell and that we move forward to some kind of paradise; the myth of decline presupposes that the beginning was paradise and that from then on, possibly with the help of the original sin, we come closer and closer to hell. There is no doubt that great historians have used the progress myth while others, no less great, have used the other. But if we are serious about truth in history, we had better leave the delightful playground of mythology.

Apart from these considerations, which are concerned only with Dewey as a philosopher and not with Dewey as a great scholar, this book becomes excellent as soon as it deals with analyses of the scientific mind and the functioning of scientific experience. Here Dewey is extremely modern, in the best sense of the word, especially when he tries to "discover in terms of an experienced state of affairs the connection that exists between physical subject-matter and the common-sense objects of everyday experience," and when

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he shows that "modern experience is expansive since it is marked off by its constant concern for potentialities of experience as yet unrealized." In other words, what Dewey can and does give is a kind of logic for the scientific mind. That this is an important subject for science and scientists is beyond doubt. That it is the only concern of philosophy, or even one of its chief concerns, is a highly controversial question.

HANNAH ARENDT

The Doctor Will Return

The surgical mask, the rubber teat
Are singed, give off an evil smell.
You seem to weep more now that heat
Spreads everywhere we look.
It says here none of us is well.

The warty spottings on the figurines
Are nothing you would care to claim.
You seem to weep more since the magazines
Began revivals on the Dundas book.
It says here you were most to blame.

But though I cannot believe that this is so,
I mark the doctor as a decent sort.
I mix your medicine and go
Downstairs to leave instructions for the cook.
It says here time is getting short.

That I can believe. I hear you crying in your room
While watching traffic, reconciled.
Out in the park, black flowers are in bloom.
I picked some once and pressed them in a book.
You used to look at them, and smile.

Routes to Headquarters

The first, preaxial digit of the hind
Stubs back a little for a fresher start.
We move this way to keep from going blind.

In great duststorms like these, the punctured heart
Is hastypudding shaken in a bag,
Which you could mold, effendi, with the art

You crowd together from your own unease—
Some mildewed plunder fit for cats to drag
Around the house, smashed congeries.

We limped too long, though, wanting you to stay.
Those storms grew normal as the noise of guns,
Our pulpy hearts leaked better every day.

We acted when you proved yourself a beast.
Saw clearly how to end your life, made plans
To ship ourselves in boxes to the East

Where we attained a bland maturity.
—Then the long coma, hearts annealed, to stare
With glassy eyeballs toward the churning sea.

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FICTION IN REVIEW

WHEN Charles Jackson's "The Lost Weekend" appeared in 1944, I wrote about it in this column only very briefly, commending its precise flexible prose but characterizing its theme as essentially unfruitful for a novel. My estimate differed sharply from majority opinion, and led to my being questioned as to what I meant by dismissing any subject as unfruitful for fiction. Since the question was of course apposite—obviously, no subject can a priori be classified as unsuitable for a novel—I am glad of the occasion of the appearance of Mr. Jackson's second book to admit that my choice of language was careless and misleading. I had wished to express, not the opinion that under all circumstances dipsomania was an unfruitful subject for a novel, but simply the opinion that "The Lost Weekend" handled the theme unfruitfully. It was because Mr. Jackson's book failed to make a vital connection between the private universe of its narcissistic and self-pitying hero and the larger universe that contains it that I thought it failed in its job of literature.

I return to this point of misunderstanding because Mr. Jackson's new novel, "The Fall of Valor" (Rinehart, $2.75), seems to me open to precisely the same objection—though in its case there is strong evidence that Mr. Jackson conceived his story with larger meanings than come through in the execution. The theme of the new novel is homosexuality: if Mr. Jackson fails to make his subject artistically fruitful, this does not mean that the homosexual subject is in itself unsuitable for fiction; it has of course been written about very usefully indeed by Proust, Gide, and Thomas Mann. And certainly I do not imply that Mr. Jackson in any way exploits his subject for its sensational value. "The Fall of Valor" is an unmistakably serious literary performance and, despite its inadequacies, must be recognized as a real advance—at least in intention—over the earlier novel.

The story Mr. Jackson tells is of a college professor who, at the age of forty-four and after some years of happy marriage, begins to show a deep sexual separation from his wife. In an attempt to restore their relationship, the Grandins go to Sconset for a vacation. But the holiday, which is supposed to be a second honeymoon, turns out instead to widen the rift between John and Ethel Grandin. On the trip up the Grandins have attached to themselves a newly married couple—Cliff, a marine on sick leave from the Pacific, and his bride, a former student of Grandin's. When Grandin becomes aware of a growing attraction to Cliff, he at first understands his emotions as a response to the romantic appeal of youth going off to fight and possibly die for its country; then he discovers that behind this symbolic emotion lies a direct sexual attraction. He tries to control his homosexual impulse, but the force is stronger than his will to combat it. He makes a sexual advance to Cliff and is rebuffed. The book concludes with Grandin confronting a life of overt homosexuality and the knowledge of the inevitable dissolution of his marriage.

Now in writing a story of this kind Mr. Jackson has set himself a task which is extremely difficult on two scores. He has the initial problem of making the evolution of Grandin's homosexuality, and Ethel Grandin's reactions to it, psychologically convincing. Then he has the problem of making his study something more meaningful than a case history. For, after all, scientific literature is full of psychologically sound records of the homosexual neurosis, and if we are to read Mr. Jackson's novel rather than a textbook, it must be because its study of disease will tell us about more than disease, enlarging beyond the usual limits of a case history our understanding of the world in which illness exists. "The Fall of Valor," however, seems to me to miss fire on both these counts. Its picture of Grandin's deviation from normality and of Ethel Grandin's response to her situation captures our hearts and minds only in the degree that its view of a normal sexual life is compelling—and this is small indeed. The relation between Grandin's fall from valor and the fall of heroes in a valorous war—surely the important fictional idea in Mr. Jackson's book—has only as much significance as Grandin and Cliff can be made to stand for by their own size as individuals—and this too is very little. We compare "The Fall of Valor" with Mann's "Death in Venice," similarly concerned with the sickness of the modern will and with modern man's impulse to self-destruction, to see that the failure of Mr. Jackson's novel to communicate what it set out to is its inability to suggest, as Mann's story suggests throughout, the human grandeur which alone gives importance to human defeat.

Not only the three chief characters in Mr. Jackson's novel but his minor figures as well lack this novelistic stature and make but a poor thing of the human possibility. There are

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& literature VIEW, first in art, is also in the advance-guard of literature. Among the writers contributing poems, stories, articles, are: Eric Bentley, Jorge Luis Borges, André Breton, Kenneth Burke, Roger Caillois, Albert Camus, E. E. Cummings, Denis de Rougemont, James T. Farrell, Wallace Fowlie, Jean Genêt, André Gide, Randall Jarrell, Henry Miller, Jean-Paul Sartre, Meyer Schapiro, Ramon J. Sender, Edith Sitwell, Wallace Stevens, James Johnson Sweeney, Parker Tyler, William Carlos Williams, and others.

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the children of the Grandin's, for instance, or Ethel Grandin's parents, who, occupying so tiny a place in the story, yet fill it not at all. Or there are the Howards, the middle-aged couple with whom the Grandins become friendly in Sconset, who, meant to represent a robust marital happiness, in fact represent marriage as if it were a steaming tub of family wash. Or there is Billie, Cliff's bride, who, supposed to be sufficiently mature to be a college student of Grandin's, is actually so infantile that only a truant officer might be expected to make any consequence of what goes on in her honeymoon bed. But the major responsibility for the inadequacy of "The Fall of Valor" rests, naturally, with its major characters—with the Grandins and Cliff. If the tragedy of Ethel and John Grandin is to matter, and if we are to care that their marriage is destroyed, surely they must matter as persons and their marriage must be shown to be worth preserving. But neither John's professional career nor his personal quality, neither Ethel's wifely emotions nor her emotions as an ordinary member of the community, are of a kind to command respect, understanding, sympathy; and as for their marriage, it appears to be rooted wholly in some absurd mechanical notion of a woman's marital demands and her husband's "duty" to fulfil them. The conception of Cliff is equally unengaging. We are given many convincing evidences of Cliff's own quite unconscious homosexuality. This is a good insight of Mr. Jackson's—his perception of the sexual ambivalence of the ultra-masculine, football-player type of man. Even more impressive is Mr. Jackson's knowledge of what it is that attracts certain men to war. But if Cliff is to represent heroic youth, he must have more than a heroic physique. He must prove to us, as Cliff never does, that he has force as well as physical bulk. His primitivism must not announce itself as silliness, lest he invalidate the attraction which he exercises on Grandin and make Grandin appear silly too.

The current desire to make literature out of psychopathology has occasionally driven writers—Anais Nin is an outstanding instance—to a false poeticism of style by which they try to raise their work above the usual professional case history. Actually, however, it turns out that the poetical effort diminishes rather than increases not only the truth in their fiction but also the poetry, since there is more excitement of the imagination in a bald statement of a scientific observation than in any conjuring with language. Happily, Mr. Jackson's novel indulges in no poetical fancies. Its style lacks the briskness and freshness of the style of "The Lost Weekend": it has a peculiar dead center; but at least it stands up to its job honestly, without conscious or unconscious literary obscurantism. And yet, from the point of view of its content, if not of its prose, it again reminds us of the distance our fiction of pathology will have to travel if it wishes to transcend and outlast our scientific literature of pathology. For in the long run a good case record of a condition like Grandin's sets up just as many artistic overtones as "The Fall of Valor"; from the pen of a Freud or a Ferenczi, even more.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE engineer who had told me about the new Zenith Cobra pick-up informed me that another new pick-up had been incorporated into two General Electric machines: No. 326 (mahogany) or 327 (walnut), a 7-tube console model ($207.60), and No. 303, a 6-tube table model (no price yet). Before hearing them I listened again to the Zeniths. When I had heard them the first time I had judged the frequency-response of the 12H to extend at least to 7000 cycles; this time, with the help of a frequency test-record, I got a more exact idea of that response: after 5000 cycles the high frequencies begin to decrease in intensity, so that the range between 5000 and 9000 is present in the reproduced sound, but increasingly attenuated. The sound, then, is well-balanced and rich, but with the sharp liveness created by strong high frequencies smoothed off.

Now that range between 5000 and 9000 is reproduced with greater intensity by the General Electric No. 326; and its sound is therefore more brilliant and live than that of the Zenith 12H. But the sound of the Zenith 12H is more cleanly defined in greater quiet; it is more powerful and solid; and the larger cabinet makes it more spacious. Moreover the lighter weight of the Zenith pickup — ⅔ of an ounce, as against a little over 1 ounce for the General Electric—means longer life for the permanent stylus; and not only need the Zenith cartridge containing the stylus be replaced less frequently, but the Zenith cartridge costs only $2.50 and is inserted as easily as the eraser in a pencil, whereas the G. E. cartridge costs $7.50 and involves soldering. Also, the Zenith has FM, which the G. E. does not have; and it has the finer record-changer.

The G. E. No. 303 that I heard—equipped with the same pickup and changer as No. 326—sounded to me like a very good table model which was slightly out of order; and I will try to hear another specimen, since other table models I have heard recently — the Zenith 5R086 and a non-automatic E. C. A.—have been very poor.

A reader has asked what I meant by the statement—in the paragraph about the E. C. A. automatic table model and chairside model, in my September 21 article—that "In the table model the treble was a little harsh in both machines; also, the chassis is A. C.–D. C. . . . " He should ask the printer what *he* meant by it; what I wrote was "In the table model the treble was a little harsh. In both machines, also, the chassis is A. C.–D. C. . . . "

Another reader askes what I think of Jussi Bjoerling's voice, which her friends think is not as beautiful as it was before the war, but which she finds as beautiful as ever on the record of *Questo o quella* that was issued last year. My answer is that the voice of Bjoerling today is not as beautiful as the voice on the record, which was made before the war.

And another reader has asked whether I am aware that the feud between Ernest Newman and the late Carl Engel goes back as far as the review of Newman's "Unconscious Beethoven" somewhere around 1927, in which Engel argued very convincingly that the evidence did not justify Newman's conclusion that Beethoven's deafness had been caused by syphilis. Yes, I am aware of it; and in fact I mentioned it in a *Nation* article in 1929. While I was in London, in the fall of 1928, Newman, in one of his Sunday articles, discussed people's unwillingness to hear the occasionally sordid truth about the lives of great composers, and cited as an example the fact that when he had proved Beethoven had had syphilis an American critic had objected to his irreverence. This caused me to wonder whether he had seen Engel's review; and I wrote twice to ask him, but got no answer. In the light of the "Bombastes Furioso" appendix I have no doubt now that he *had* seen the review, and that he had already begun the strategy of that appendix, which I described in my recent article — the strategy of remaining silent as long as Engel said things that were valid and effective and waiting until Engel said something stupid, and of then answering the stupidity and claiming that such stupidity was what he had ignored all these years.

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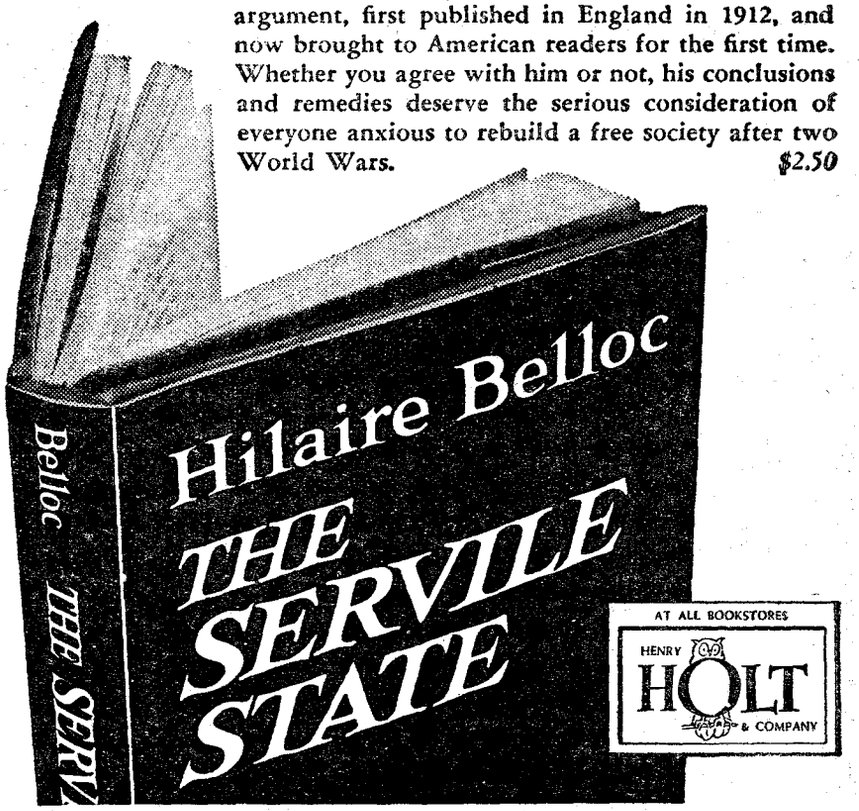

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Letters to the Editors

Says del Vayo Erred

Dear Sirs: Over a long period of time Alvarez del Vayo has proved himself a shrewd and far-seeing observer of political developments and trends, especially in Europe. His words carry the weight of recognized authority. It therefore seems to me important to point out two misstatements of fact in Mr. del Vayo's Intermezzo in Berlin, which appeared in your August 31 issue. Both misstatements were, I am sure, made in good faith; but both are dangerously misleading in these times when so much depends upon intelligent public opinion based on accurate knowledge of fact.

First: Mr. del Vayo believes that "Colonel Blimp is in command" in the British zone. He thinks that British military officials—contrary to the wishes of Mr. Attlee's Labor government—are opposing Social Democracy in Germany and coddling the reactionary forces. He states that "recently anti-fascist circles in Berlin were stunned by the news that the British had authorized a new party, the Conservative Movement, in their zone. The names of its leaders are enough to raise the hair of anyone who knows Germany—Hugenberg, Wulle, and Count Westarp. Hugenberg, president of the Krupp cartel until 1918, was the real force behind the notorious Stahlhelm, the para-military anti-labor organization which was incorporated into the S.S. in 1934." (He might have added that it was Hugenberg who helped Hitler to power.)

When I read this, I felt sure Mr. del Vayo had been misinformed about Hugenberg's present status; but rather than rely upon my own recent observation in Germany, I checked by cable with one of my colleagues in Berlin. His answer was: "Hugenberg is eighty-five and paralyzed, wherefore permitted to be out of jail but personal movements restricted. Hugenberg is too decrepit to be active politically and anyway is banned. Five months ago Wulle was also banned from political activity because of unsavory past including membership in Hugenberg front and anti-Semitism. Still checking Westarp."

I believe that careful investigation would show that the new Conservative Party is of very little importance and has only a small membership, mostly in Schleswig-Holstein and Hannover. I believe there is nothing particularly hair-raising about it or its leaders. As a matter of fact, according to my own observations, the British Military Government—in spite of a few Blimps—strongly favors the Social Democrats throughout the British zone. Certainly Mr. del Vayo's sensational charge is without foundation.

Second: Mr. del Vayo accuses the British and United States military governments of using food distribution for political purposes. He says:

"Generally speaking, in order to win the favor of the American and British authorities, a German must be in good standing with the church. Politically the party in ascendancy today is the Christian Democratic Union. . . . The Germans must support this party if they want to eat, for the hierarchy controls in large measure the distribution of food packages from abroad."

This allegation seemed to me, on the basis of what I myself had seen, most unfair to United States and British Military Government officials.

To begin with, Mr. del Vayo makes a mistake in lumping the two zones—or even the various parts of each. The British zone elections will almost certainly show the Social Democrats and not the C. D. U. in the ascendancy. In the United States zone the C. D. U., or its equivalent, the C. S. U., predominates in Bavaria and Württemberg-Baden, but the Social Democrats predominate in Great Hesse.

Furthermore, the fact is that any German in the British or American zone is entitled to whatever food his current ration card calls for. It may be the minimum ration, or it may be a higher classifaction. The individual's classification is determined by the German local authorities. The food on which the Germans live is not distributed by the authorities in food packages in either zone. Recently, in July, permission was granted to individuals outside Germany to send such packages to individuals in Germany, but so far as I know these packages play a very small part—not nearly so great a part as the black market. As against these facts, Mr. del Vayo says:

"During the months of May and June Socialists living in areas where they comprise 80 per cent of the population received only 20 per cent of the food packages; the remainder were distributed among the 20 per cent who belong to the Catholic Party."

What areas, specifically, did Mr. del Vayo's informants have in mind? What food packages were there to distribute in May and June? And, if there were any, how large a part did they play as against the rationed distribution?

I know of no major area in the British or American zones where there are 80 per cent Social Democrats, or where any party has that sort of preponderance. If there is such an area, it would probably be somewhere in northwestern Germany, and I suspect that in northwestern Germany Mr. del Vayo would find that the C. D. U. is not a "Catholic party," but a mixed Protestant-Catholic party.

To make doubly certain, I cabled about this charge of playing politics with food. The answer I received read:

"Ration classifications set by military governments, but card distribution left to Germans. Obviously there is a certain amount of favoritism but absolutely no—repeat no—evidence political parties cheating. Russians believe in favoring victims of fascism, intellectuals, and politicos with high ration classification, but British and Americans don't favor anyone."

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This does not mean that in the Russian zone one has to belong to the Soviet-sponsored Unity Party in order to eat. It simply means that the Russians do play *a little* politics with food. All the evidence I can find shows that there is no playing of politics with food at all in the British or American zones, except where an occasional individual gets himself a higher ration-card classification through what would here be called "personal pull."

Let us by all means be critical of ourselves and, if necessary, of our Allies. But let us at least make our judgments upon a basis of fact. That much we owe to the people who are doing an exceedingly tough job in Germany.

JAMES WARBURG

New York, September 24

[*A reply by Mr. Del Vayo will be found on page 435.*]

A $2,500 Essay Contest

Dear Sirs: The Institute for Religious and Social Studies announces a $2,500 essay contest, the purpose of which is to stimulate investigation into the problems of group adjustment in the United States.

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LOUIS FINKELSTEIN

New York, September 30

The Shortest Avenue

Dear Sirs: While I cannot but agree in general with Reinhold Niebuhr—as much in deference to the man himself as to the soundness of his theses—there are dark places in his recent article which, I feel, need some light and air.

He mentions an "almost pathetic desire for peace in the Western world." If by the "Western world" Dr. Niebuhr means the United States, then all the newspapers and broadcasting networks in that country have united in a conspiracy to conceal those "pathetic desires" from me. The newspapers, more especially, are simply impatient to have at the Russians. . . .

We run headlong into it again among the higher echelons of the American army and navy. (It would be the worst of ostrich-like futility to deny that this is so.) As far as we are able to estimate the wishes of the spiritual leaders of twenty-five or thirty million American Catholics, they are for war with Russia.

If there is any aversion to war with Russia among the entrepreneurs of American big business, then the writer has been reading the wrong American newspapers for twenty-nine years. . . .

A thing that disconcerts my European friends is the vaulting arrogance of the American public; the blatherskites of the kidney of Mr. "Tex" McCreary—whoever he is—who announce publicly but unabashedly that the American generals and admirals, seeing the Russian armies, know now that they can "take them any time at all!"

My friends feel—and rightly so, I believe—that this "selling the Russians short" by an American group of professional warriors, who have heretofore been singularly, even distressingly, errant in their guesses, is the shortest and widest of all the avenues to war.

FRED O'GRADY

Vancouver, B. C., September 23

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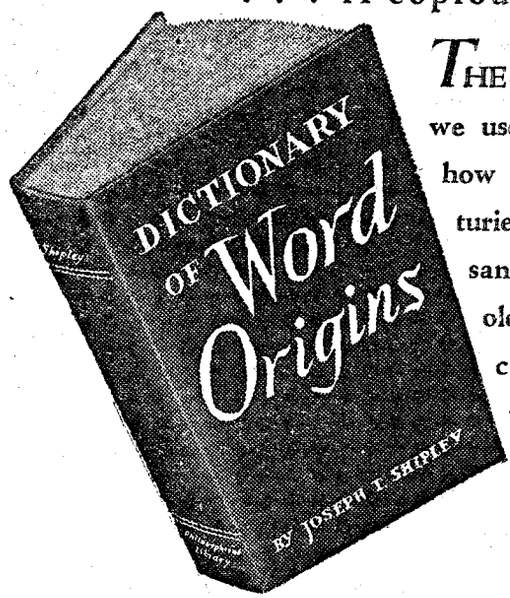

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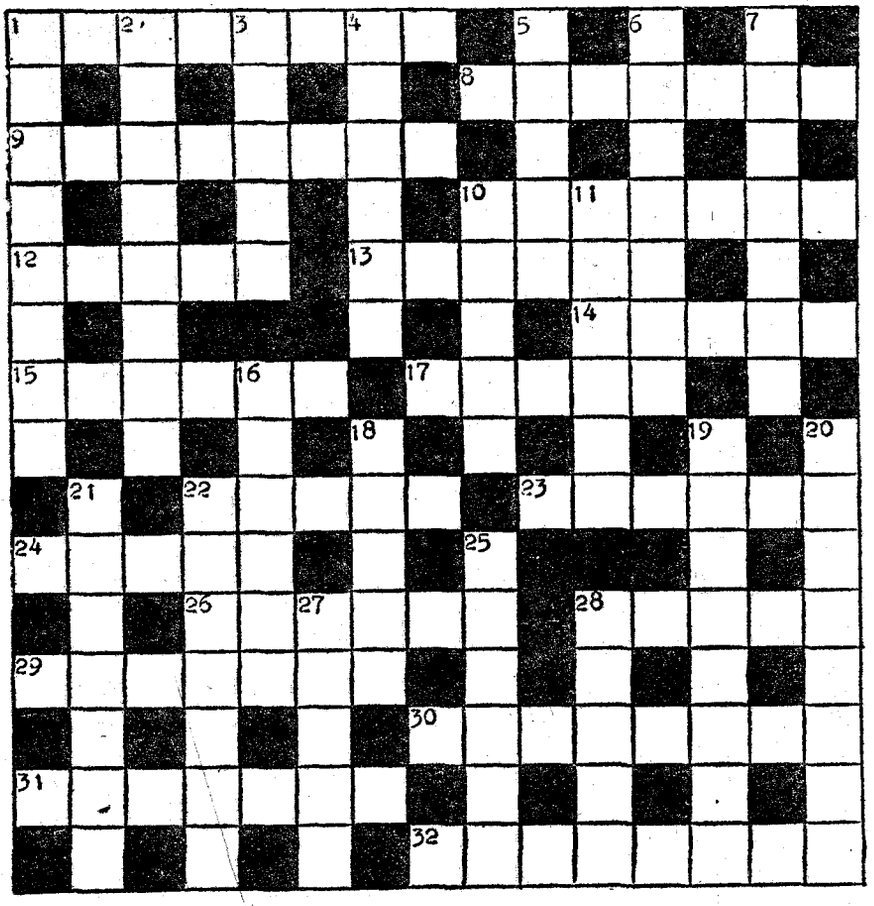
Crossword Puzzle No. 183

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Flower on a broken snowshoe
8 A literary giant
9 He fights for those he favors
10 The Tsar's consort
12 French table water
13 Turn eastward
14 Pond life
15 This girl starts to ask a question
17 Was the Hatter sane?
22 Wordsworth's environment
23 So Iris is an ox, eh?
24 Wouldn't be kept out of the bar; but it was only for a mineral!
26 Not in a British river
28 Hardly recognizable language
29 Contemporary American writer
30 Air Force chaplain?
31 Incomings
32 Refused

DOWN

1 Order more acceptable for board than bed (5 and 3)
2 The end of your training
3 What rulers do
4 Appendage that cannot be lightly dispensed with
5 Pudding that does not entirely satisfy
6 Made merry
7 Common finches
10 Athenian — wearing a watch?
11 Records
16 In high spirits
18 Sweeter form of sour fruit
19 A free man of lightning fame
20 Accompanied
21 Flag lieutenants?
22 Paying guests, the landlady hopes
25 Badger with questions
27 Peace Prize donater who would hardly have won it himself!
28 Turned down by the tailor

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 182

ACROSS:—1 KUBLA; 4 LOW; 6 COPRA; 9 PLUM PIE; 10 STOMACH; 11 EXTRAS; 13 BEDECKED; 15 BOULDER; 16 MARVEL; 17 STAG; 19 TURTLES; 21 PAWN; 23 TOCSIN; 25 PLUNGER; 27 GRADIENT; 28 DEALER; 31 URGENCY; 32 CHEVIOT; 33 KNEES; 34 DEW; 35 DREGS.

DOWN:—1 KOPJE; 2 BLUSTER; 3 ALPHABET; 4 LEEK; 5 WISHED; 6 CROMER; 7 PLACKET; 8 ACHED; 12 SOLUBLE; 13 BLATANT; 14 DELETED; 16 MOP; 18 GIN; 20 SOREHEAD; 22 WRANGLE; 24 SALTIRE; 25 PIANOS; 26 UNDYED; 27 GLUCK; 29 RATES; 30 SCOW.

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